



ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α, Β, Γ.

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ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α, Β, Γ.

THE FIRST THREE
PHILIPPIC ORATIONS

OF

DEMOSTHENES,

WITH NOTES,

CRITICAL, EXPLANATORY AND HISTORICAL.

BY

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TO THE
REV. JOHN McCAUL, LL.D.,
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, TORONTO,

THIS VOLUME

IS INSCRIBED BY ONE WHO

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGES

HIS MANY OBLIGATIONS TO HIM

BOTH AS

PRESIDENT AND AS PROFESSOR.

STREET.

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PREFACE.

In presenting the present edition of the First Three Philippic orations of Demosthenes, a few words of explanation, and some general observations are deemed necessary. The text is with few exceptions that of the Third Edition of W. DINDORF published in 1864, and embodying the latest researches into the various manuscripts and editions of the author. The very small number of instances in which any departure has been made, is authorized by the names of BEKKER, SCHÆFER, WOLF and REISKE.

In the preparation of the notes I have made use of the labours of previous editors, and have taken great care to append to every selected note the name of the editor to whom it is due. If any instances occur in which this has been overlooked, the fault is to be attributed to my inadvertence, and not to any desire of appropriating the labours of others as my own. The Chronological Table has been carefully compiled, and no event has been given unless a conviction of its correctness was fully felt. In this part of the work great use was made of the histories of Greece by GROTE and THIRLWALL. The events of the life of Demosthenes with the list of Archons, the parallel years, and the dates of the speeches are taken from the edition of DINDORF above mentioned.

It will be seen that in the Notes and Introductions the references are given by page to the edition of REISKE,

which is the plan of reference now almost universally adopted. For various reasons I did not care to do otherwise, and at the end of the book I have added a table of parallel pages in order to facilitate the references to the present edition. No life of Demosthenes has been considered necessary, and many of the proper names have been entirely passed over, and others only partially touched upon. So many excellent works on History, Mythology, and Geography are now in the hands of University Students, that it would only have been burdening the notes with matter which can easily be obtained elsewhere. The references to parallel readings and forms of expressions in other authors have been made with great care, and it is hoped will be found generally correct. However in the great number of them some errors have doubtless remained, and for these an ample apology is offered.

It only remains for me to convey my sincere thanks to the friends who aided me in the preparation of the present work. To the President of University College I am especially indebted for his kindness in placing the University Library at my disposal; to the Hon. A. Campbell for allowing me the use of the Parliamentary Library; to the Rev. J. Ambery, M.A., of Trinity College, and W. H. Vandersmissen, Esq., B.A., of University College, whose care in revising the press has contributed so much to the general accuracy of the Notes; and to the Rev. Prof. Mowat, of Kingston, for many acts of kindness.

SAMUEL WOODS.

EARL STREET, Kingston.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS DURING THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
385-4	98.4	Dexilheus.	Demosthenes born according to the Pseudo-Plutarch in the <i>Lives of the Ten Attic Orators</i> , p. 845. D. The son of Demosthenes, the Pæanian and Cleobule daughter of Gylon.
382-1	99.3	Erander.	Philip, son of Amyntas and Eurydice, is born. His elder brothers were Alexander and Perdicas. The Cadmeia seized by Phœbidas, and an oligarchy established under the authority of Archias and Leontiades in the interest of Sparta. Phœbidas recalled, and Teleutias sent in his stead. Pelopidas flies with the exiles to Athens. In the latter end of this year Teleutias is slain at Olynthus, and his army defeated.
381-0	99.4	Demophilus.	Agesipolis sent out to succeed Teleutias. Dies soon after at Torone, and Polybiades succeeds.
380 } 379 }	100.1	Demophilus.	The Olynthians sue for peace, and Polybiades returns to Sparta. Olynthus joins the Spartan confederacy in the early part of 379.
379-8	100.2	Nicon.	The Cadmeia recovered by Pelopidas, assisted by the exiles and a body of Athenian volunteers. Cleombrotus sets out to recover Thebes, but being unsuccessful he returns, leaving Sphodrias in command. He attacks the Piræus, and the Boeotian war breaks out against Sparta.

B. C.	OLYMP.	AECHON.	
378-7	100.3	Nausimicus.	A new valuation at Athens for Taxes. Sphodrias recalled, and Agesilaus succeeds; he ravages the Egeotian territory for some time until Chabrias and Gorgidas defeat him at Thespiæ. He returns and Phœbidas succeeds, who is slain soon after by the Thebans.
387-6	100.4	Callias.	The father of Demosthenes died, leaving a widow, and Demosthenes, seven, and a sister, five years of age. The guardians were Aphobus, Demophon and Therippides, to each of whom legacies were left. Battle of Tanagra, in which Agesilaus defeats the Thebans. The Sacred Band of 300 established at Thebes. Cleombrotus again sent out with no better success.
376-5	101.1	Charisander	In this Olympiad and the six or seven subsequent years Demosthenes is carefully trained in his rudimentary education, and acquires the nickname of <i>Bululus</i> . Demetrius Phalereus says he could not at first pronounce the letter <i>phi</i> . Chabrias conquers the Lacedæmonian fleet at Naxos, and restores the Athenian supremacy over the Ægean, and still later in the year the Spartans are defeated by Timotheus at Alyzia, which causes Coreycra to renew the treaty with Athens.
375-4	101.2	Hippodamas	Pelopidas having failed at Orchomenos, on his retreat is attacked by a superior force at Tegira, and routs the Spartans; Cleombrotus again sent to their aid; the Thebans send an army into Phocis; Cleombrotus going to their assistance, forces the Thebans to retreat.
374-3	101.3	Socratides.	The Athenians, jealous of the success of the Thebans attempt to make peace with Sparta, but a dispute having arisen about some Zacynthian exiles restored by Timotheus in 375, the negotiations were interrupted and war is renewed. Iphicrates returns to Athens after an absence in Persia with Pharnabazus of four years. Timotheus, sent to relieve Coreycra which was attacked by the Spartans, fails for want of supplies, and is compelled to cruise around the coast of the Peloponnese, where he is defeated and slain. Timotheus is recalled, and Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Callistratus appointed in his stead. The Athenians conquer a Syracusan fleet at Coreycra, and Cephalenia is reduced under the Athenian dominion. The Thebans destroy Platæa, and its inhabitants take refuge in Athens. Thespiæ shares the same fate.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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374-3	101.3	Socratides.	and, the Thebans send an army into Phocis; Cleombrotus going to their assistance, forces the Thebans to retreat.
373-2	101.4	Asteias.	The Athenians jealous of the success of the Thebans attempt to make peace with Sparta, but a dispute having arisen about some Zacynthian exiles restored by Timotheus in 375, the negotiations were interrupted and war is renewed. Iphicrates returns to Athens after an absence in Persia with Pharnabazus of four years. Timotheus, sent to relieve Corcyra which was attacked by the Spartans, fails for want of supplies, and is compelled to cruise around the island of Corcyra, and is defeated and slain. Timotheus is recalled, and Iphicrates, Chabrias and Callistratus appointed in his stead. The Athenians conquer a Syracusan fleet at Corcyra, and Cephallenia is reduced under the Athenian dominion. The Thebans destroy Plataea, and its inhabitants take refuge in Athens. Thespiæ shares the same fate.
372-1	102.1	Alcisthenes.	Shortly after the death of Mnasippus, Iphicrates arrives at Corcyra and is successful against Sparta; prepares to invade Laconia from Acarnania. Timotheus tried and acquitted, but obliged to retire into Persia.
371-0	102.2	Phrasicles.	Thespiæ and Plataea, sends ambassadors to conclude a peace with Sparta. Epaminondas represents Thebes at the Council, but refuses to sign the articles of the treaty, because the Boeotian towns would have acquired their autonomy, and each combatant must disband his armies. Peace concluded with Athens by Sparta.
370 { 369 }	102-3	Dysicetus.	Cleombrotus is ordered to move from Phocis on Boeotia, but soon after encounters the Thebans at Leuctra, and is totally defeated, and slain. Mantinea restored. Jason of Pheræ having arrived a few days after the battle advises an armistice, and the Spartans retire into Peloponnesus. Pammenes advises the Acadians to build a city, and call it Megalopolis. Epaminondas also favors the extension of democracy in Peloponnesus.
369-8	102.4	Lysistratus.	Amyntas, King of Macedonia, dies in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. Alexander succeeds. Jason of Pheræ, intending to march into Delphi, and pre- side at the Pythian games, is murdered. His brothers Polydorus and Poly- phron succeed him. The Spartans invade Arcadia, under Agesilaus; ravage the country and then retire. The Thebans in return invade Sparta, under Epaminondas, and remain three months.
			The Thebans having collected forces from Phocis, Locris, Thessaly, and others of their allies, again invade Peloponnesus; there they are joined by the Eleans,

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
369-8	102.4	Lysistratus.	Arcadians, and Argives. The Spartans retire to the towns, but having received aid from Dionysius of Syracuse, they defeat the Thebans in a skirmish; the latter retire, and enter Messenia, where the city of Messena is founded, and peopled by Messenian insurgents and Helots. Epaminondas leaves a garrison there, and returns to Thebes. The Lacedæmonians implore aid from Athens and Iphicrates is sent. Polyphron is murdered by his nephew Alexander, who tyrannizes over the Thessalian towns. The Aleuadæ invoke the aid of Alexander of Macedon, who puts garrisons in Larissa and Crannon, but is recalled into Macedonia by some intrigues. Ptolemy of Alorus, having slain Alexander, obtains the kingdom of Macedonia, but the third year afterwards is murdered by Perdiceas, the lawful heir. Iphicrates stations himself at the Isthmus, but Epaminondas avoids him, and having defeated the Athenian cavalry, enters Achaia to secure his allies. Thessaly applies for aid against Alexander of Phæræ, and Pelopidas is sent. The Spartans send an army to the Isthmus, and here they unite with the Athenians and Corinthians. Epaminondas forces their lines, and having attacked Corinth is repulsed by Chabrias and returns home. Pelopidas visits Macedonia, and having arranged the affairs of the kingdom, brings Philip to Thebes, where he resided several years. Pelopidas visits Thessaly, and is imprisoned by Alexander of Phæræ. The Thebans are defeated by Alexander and the Athenians; Epaminondas a private in the Theban army. Archidamus gains the "Tearless Battle" over the Argives and Arcadians. Epaminondas releases Pelopidas; he visits Persia and obtains the sanction of the King to the designs of Thebes. A congress at Thebes, at which a deputy of the King is present, but his overtures are rejected by the Greek states.
368-7	103.1	Nausigenes.	of oratory. Demosthenes comes of age and brings an action against his guardians for malversion of his estate, and gains a verdict. Epaminondas marches into Achaia to secure his allies. Corinth and Phlius make a separate peace with Thebes.
367-6	103.2	Polyzelus.	
366-5	103.3	Cephalodorus.	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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367-6	103.2	Polyzelus.	das visits Macedonia, and having arranged the affairs of the kingdom, brings Philip to Thebes, where he resided several years. Pelopidas visits Thessaly, and is imprisoned by Alexander of Phœræ. The Thebans are defeated by Alexander and the Athenians; Epaminondas a private in the Theban army. Epaminondas gains the "Tearless Battle" over the Argives and Arcadians. King to the designs of Thebes; he visits Persia and obtains the sanction of the King is present, but his overtures are rejected by the Greek states. of oratory. Demosthenes comes of age and brings an action against his guardians for malversion of his estate, and gains a verdict. Epaminondas marches into Achaia to secure his allies. Corinth and Philus make a separate peace with Thebes.
366-5	103.3	Cephalodorus.	Oropus wrested from Athens by Themison and Theodorus and delivered over to the Thebans. The Athenians make a separate alliance with Arcadia. Demosthenes enrolled as a citizen. The Achæans make peace with Thebes. Elis and Arcadia at war.
365-4	103.4	Chion.	Ptolemy is slain by Perdicas III., who ascends the throne of Macedon. Amphipolis surrenders to Iphicrates, and gives hostages; they are given in charge to Charidemus, who returns them to the city, and goes into the service of Cotys, King of Thrace.
364-3	104.1	Timocrates.	Demosthenes again sues his guardians, and delivers the speech contra One'rem, and Aphobus is fined ten talents which he is unable to pay. The other guardians are then attacked by law. Sparta assists the Eleans against Arcadia. The battle of Olympia is fought during the game by the Arcadians, who attempted to exclude the Eleans from the control of the Games. The Arcadians are defeated. Pelopidas overcomes Alexander of Phæræ. The makes him dependent upon Thebes. Callisthenes commander of the Athenian fleet on the coast of Macedonia is superseded by Timotheus, who takes Torone and Potidea. Pelopidas again in Thessaly, where he collects an army of Thessalians, and totally defeats Alexander at the battle of Cynoscephalæ, but is himself slain. War at Amphipolis between Perdicas and Athens, ended by the truce of Callisthenes which leaves the city in the hands of the Macedonians.
363-2	104.2	Chariclides.	Timotheus takes Pydna and Methone. Thebes sends a fleet to Byzantium, which Laches opposes without effect. Alexander of Phæræ besieges Peparethus,

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
363-2	104.2	Chariclides.	and attacks some of the Ægean Islands; the Athenians oppose him, when he sails for Attica, and plunders the Piræus. Epaminondas leads his army for the last time into Peloponnesus; attacks Sparta; is repulsed, and withdraws to Mantinea, where the great battle is fought in which he is slain in the moment of victory; his army numbered 33,000; the Spartans were considerably less. A general peace; but Sparta refuses to acknowledge Messenia.
362-1	104.3	Molon.	Timotheus captures Sestus, Crithote, and Eleus, in the Chersonese; and afterwards besieges Samos. The Athenians despatch a fleet against Alexander of Phœræ, and another to Thrace, to co-operate with Miltocythes, who revolted from Cotys; Cotys amuses them with promises, and meanwhile defeats Miltocythes.
361-0	104.4	Nicophemus.	Samos capitulates after a siege of eleven months. Callistratus, the Athenian orator, banished. Messene recognized by Sparta.
360 } 359 }	105.1	Callimedes.	Timotheus and Charidemus attack Amphipolis, and are defeated, owing to the arrival of succor from Macedonia. Cotys captures Sestus. Perdiccas is slain in battle against the Illyrians, leaving an infant son Amyntas. Philip ascends the throne of Macedon. The Illyrians are preparing to invade his kingdom. There are two pretenders: Argæus supported by Athens, and Pausanias by Cotys and the Thracians. Argæus defeated, and peace with Athens, declares Amphipolis free, and accommodates matters with Pausanias and Cotys.
359-8	105.2	Eucharistus.	Demosthenes mentioned as flourishing in age by Eusebius, <i>Chron.</i> p. 345, under this year, <i>Ἀνθοθένης ὁ πρῶτος ἐγγυολίστερ</i> . Philip subdues the Præonians, and defeats Bardylis King of Illyria, and subdues his country as far as Lake kingdom divided into three parts.
358-7	105.3	Cephisodotus.	Charidemus defeats the Athenians attacking Cersobleptes, takes Miltocythes prisoner, and causes him to be put to death at Cardia.
			Amphipolis besieged by Philip; an Amphipolitan embassador sent to Philip.

359-8	105.2	Eucharistus.	Demosthenes mentioned as flourishing in age by Eusebius, <i>Chron.</i> p. 345, under this year, <i>Ἀνατολίαν δὲ πύρρον ἐνέπλετο</i> . Philip subdues the Pæonians, and defeats Bardylis King of Illyria, and subdues his country as far as Lake kingdom divided into three parts. Charidemus defeats the Athenians attacking Cersobleptes, takes Miltocythes prisoner, and causes him to be put to death at Cardia.
358-7	105.3	Cephisodotus.	Amphipolis besieged by Philip; an Amphipolitan embassy sent to Athens imploring aid is defeated by the intrigues of Philip, who is allowed to capture the city, under promise of delivering it over to the Athenians. Conciliates Olynthus by ceding Anthemus, marches against Pydna and causes its surrender. Alexander of Phœræ assassinated. Cersobleptes gives up all the Chersonese to Athens, except Cardia. The Athenians quarrel with Philip about Amphipolis; and soon after the Social War breaks out; Rhodes, Chios, Cos and Byzantium having revolted from Athens, on account of the conduct of Chares towards them. Expedition of Athens to Eubœa to expel the Thebans.
357-6	105.4	Agathocles.	The Athenians attack Chios, and are defeated, with the loss of their general, Chabrias. The Thebans obtain an Amphictyonic decree against the Phocians for cultivating the Sacred Plain near Delphi, which originates the Phocian War. Philip takes Potidea, and presents it to the Olynthians. Birth of Alexander. Parmenio conquers the Illyrians. Philip takes the mine district of Pangæus, and establishes Philippi on the site of Krenides. Isocrates, <i>De Pace</i> . Expulsion of Dionysius of Syracuse.
356-5	106.1	Elphines.	Byzantium besieged by the Athenians, but relieved by the allies. Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Chares with sixty ships are sent out to reduce the revolted allies, but having failed to attack the enemy during a storm, Chares accuses the others of treachery, and they are recalled. The allies ravage Imbros, Lemnos, and Samos, and disturb the commerce of the Ægean. Chares having no supplies hires his army to Artabazus the Persian satrap in revolt, and obtains large rewards. The King enraged at the Athenians is about to aid the allies, when Athens makes peace with them in the summer of 355.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
356-5	106. 1	Elphines.	Philip suppresses the designs of the Thracians, Pæonians and Illyrians to unite against him. In this Archonship Demosthenes delivers his speeches against <i>Androtion</i> , and against <i>Leptines</i> . DION. HAL. p. 724. Philomelus the Phocian general seizes the treasures at Delphi, and after defeating the Locrians of Amphissa, obtains promises of support from Athens and Lacedæmon. In the meantime the Thebans and Thessalians come to the assistance of the Locrians. It is supposed by some that Philip during this year invaded Imbros, Seyros, and Lemnos. Cereyra revolts from Athens. Timotheus and Iphicrates brought to trial; they are acquitted, but Timotheus withdraws from Athens and soon after dies. Demosthenes <i>περὶ τῶν Συμποσίων</i> , in which he advises the Athenians not to disturb the existing peace with Persia, and not to begin war before they prepare a naval force; and he explains how it is to be done. His first speech in political life. Philomelus is attacked by the Thebans, largely reinforced, in the defiles of Parnassus; and to prevent himself falling into the hands of the enemy throws himself from a high rock. Onomarchus succeeds him, and the Thebans retire. Towards the end of this year Philip lays siege to Methone an ally of Athens, and captures it. The oration against <i>Meidias</i> is set down for this year by DINDORF , and also <i>Pro Megalopolitans</i> and against <i>Timocertes</i> . Philip takes Methone, and soon after Pagase and Magnesia. He had been invited into Thessaly to expel the tyrants of Phæra and their allies the Phocians. He is then repulsed, but immediately afterwards returns with a larger army, expels the tyrants, and then proceeds to enter Phocis by the pass of Thermopylae, but is prevented by Sparta; and an Embassy is sent imploring help from Athens against Megalopolis. Demosthenes advises them to aid the other side, and they remain neutral. The Macedonians prevail at Eretria, and the free constitution is dissolved. Mausolus dies, and is succeeded by his son.
355-4	106. 2	Callistratus.	
354-3	106. 3	Diotimus.	
353-2	106. 4	Thudemos.	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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353-2	106.4	Thudemus.	the Thebans retire. Towards the end of this year Philip lays siege to Methone an ally of Athens, and captures it.
352-1	107.1	Aristodemus.	The oration against <i>Medias</i> is set down for this year by Dindorf, and also <i>Pro Megalopolitani</i> and against <i>Timocrates</i> . Philip takes Methone, and soon after Pagasæ and Magnesia. He had been invited into Thessaly to expel the tyrants of Phære and their allies the Phocians. He is then repulsed, but immediately afterwards returns with a larger army, expels the tyrants, and then proceeds to enter Phocis by the pass of Thermopylæ, but is prevented by Sparta; and an Embassy is sent imploring help from Athens against Megalopolis. Demosthenes advises them to aid the other side, and they remain neutral. The Macedonians prevail at Eretria, and the free constitution is dissolved. Mausolus dies, and is succeeded by his queen Artemisia. First Punic war, and oration against <i>Aristocrates</i> . In this year others place the expedition of Philip against Lemnos, Imbros, Seyros, and the plundering of the Athenian coast. Philip after his repulse at Thermopylæ, retreats towards Thrace; and after arranging affairs in the interior suddenly appears on the Propontis, and besieges Hierum Teichos. The Megalopolitan war embraces Thebes, Argos, Sicyon, and Messene; the Spartans thus pressed and despairing of aid from Phocis make peace. Phayllus largely reinforced from Sparta invades Boeotia, and is defeated by the Thebans. Demosthenes <i>De Lib. Rhodiorum</i> . Phayllus overruns the country of the Epicnemidian Locrians; and after another battle with the Locotians at Aryca dies, and is succeeded by his nephew, Phalaecus. The Rhodians send for aid to Athens against the oligarchical faction. Artemisia dies. The Thessalians renege with Philip for retaining Pagasæ and Magnesia. Phalaecus invades Boeotia, but is repulsed, and Phocis in turn is ravaged by the Thebans. Demosthenes <i>ὑπὲρ Φοπιέωνος</i> . Philip is still in Thrace. Phocion goes to the aid of Plutarchus of Eretria, fights the battle of Tamynæ, expels Cleitarchus, and at last ejects Plutarchus for his treachery. Philip takes Apollonia, and threatens the Chalcidic towns. Demosthenes, choragus this year. The three Olynthian Oritions. The Olynthians having sent an embassy for aid, the Athenians vote an alliance, and send off Chares. They again send, and Charidemus is despatched; and a third embassy having arrived, an armament of citizen soldiers go to the aid of the Olynthians. During this year, and the preceding one, Philip had been engaged in capturing the Chal-
351-0	107.2	Thessalus.	
350 } 349 }	107.3	Apollodorus.	
349-8	107.4	Callimachus.	

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
349-8	107.4	Callimachus.	cidic cities to the number of thirty-two, whose inhabitants he sold into slavery, or donated to various cities to make these more faithful to himself. Demosthenes one of the 500 this year. In this Olympiad Philip captured Olynthus through the treachery of Lasthenes and Euthykrates. The Athenians had sent to its aid, according to <i>DEM. de FALS. LEG.</i>, 4,000 citizens, 10,000 mercenaries, and 50 triremes. The Oration against <i>Meidias</i> is stated by some authors to have been delivered this year. Phalæcus is deposed from his command in the Sacred War, and it gradually languishes. Philip celebrates his triumph over Olynthus at Diium in Pieria. Philip, invited by the Thebans to end the Sacred War, complies towards the end of the following year. Æschines, as envoy to Peloponnesus, addresses the <i>Ten Thousand</i> at Megalopolis. Others are sent in various directions to invite aid against Macedon, but are all equally unsuccessful. Hence the idea of a Peace first was entertained probably through some indirect hints of Philip, and the Eubeans still in revolt from Athens. The Phocians offer to put Thronium, Nicæa and Alponus under the charge of Athens, if they would assist them in resisting Philip and the Thebans. The Athenians, fearing that Philip may be successful here also, are the more urgent for peace, and at last ten Athenians and one allied envoy are sent to treat with Philip, among whom were Demosthenes and Æschines. They return in the beginning of 346, and meanwhile Philip makes aggressions on some of the northern allies of Athens. Peace and alliance voted with Philip, and ambassadors sent off to receive the oath of Philip. He is in Thrace, and on his return takes the ambassadors to Phœræ, where the Peace is signed. Fourteen days afterwards word is brought to Athens that Philip had entered Phocis, and and, whilst preparing for defence, are assured by the letter of Philip, and refrain from declaring war. The Phocian war is concluded after ten years continuance. The Amphictyonic council deposes Phocis from the list of States.
348-7	108.1	Theophilus.	
347-6	108.2	Themistocles.	
346-5	108.3	Archias.	

be successful here also, are the more urgent for peace, and at last ten Athenians and one allied envoy are sent to treat with Philip, among whom were Demosthenes and Aeschines. They return in the beginning of 346, and meanwhile Philip makes aggressions on some of the northern allies of Athens. Peace and alliance voted with Philip, and ambassadors sent off to receive the oath of Philip. He is in Thrace, and on his return takes the ambassadors to Phœre, where the Peace is signed. Fourteen days afterwards word is brought to Athens that Philip had entered Phocis, and and, whilst preparing for defence, are assured by the letter of Philip, and refrain from declaring war.

The Phocian war is concluded after ten years continuance. The Amphictyonic council deposes Phocis from the list of States represented, and bestows the vacant seat on Philip, who is also elected to preside at the Pythian games. Athens invited to agree to his election, and Demosthenes in his *De Pace* advises them to acquiesce. Philip now proposes to aid some Peloponnesian towns against Sparta, when Demosthenes is sent at the head of an embassy to counteract the Macedonian influence.

Colonies sent to the Chersonese, under Diopitides, by Athens. Philip harasses the Illyrians and Thessalians, and divides the latter country into tetrarchies, each to be governed by ten men nominated by himself. Python comes to Athens from Philip in the spring of 344 to complain of the embassy to Peloponnesus. Philip sends aid to the Argives and Messenians. Halonessus taken possession of by pirates under Sosistratus. They are expelled by Philip, who retains the island.

In consequence of the embassy of Python, and the aid sent to the cities of Peloponnesus, Demosthenes delivers the *Second Philippic*, urging the Athenians to renew the war against Philip. They decree to send an embassy requiring him to deliver up to the states of Greece all his conquests, which, with the exception of Halonessus, he refuses. Python again sent to adjust disputes, and a contrary embassy sent by Athens to insist upon her claims.

The speech, *de Halonesso*, delivered in this year, which is now ascribed to Demosthenes, but according to the best critics was delivered by Hegesippus the leader of the embassy to Philip mentioned under the last year. Philip states his claims, which are unreasonable. Phocion sent to Megara, to oppose Philip; forces and an embassy sent to Acarnania to thwart him there; in both cases successfully. Philip makes attempts upon Eubœa to

346-5 108.3 Archias.

345-4 108.4 Eubulus.

344-3 109.1 Lyciscus.

343-2 109.2 Pythodotus.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.
343-2	109. 2	Pythodotus.
342-1	109. 3	Sisigenes.
341-0	109. 4	Nicomachus.
340 } 339 }	110. 1	Theophrastus.

establish tyrants against the Athenian interest, and in consequence of the odium excited thereby, Demosthenes accuses *Aschines*, in his oration, *De Falsa Legatione*, of treachery on the second embassy of the eleven to Philip, but he is acquitted. Philip soon after sets out on an expedition against Thrace, and offers to give up *Halonessus* to Athens, at the same time complaining that the Athenian colonists in Chersonese are disturbing his interests there. Demosthenes advises the Athenians not to take *Halonessus* as a gift, as it was theirs by right. The king of Thrace defeated in several engagements, and finally subdued.

Respecting the action of the Athenian colonists, Demosthenes delivers his oration *De Rebus Chers.* in the winter of 341, and Philip continues his operations in Thrace, conquers *Teres* the king of the country, and expels *Cersobleptes*, who takes refuge in Athens. He then marches towards the Propontis, and at the same time his allies become successful in Euboea, and establish *Cleitarchus* and *Plutarchus* as tyrants. Demosthenes, in consequence of these events, delivers his *Third Panathenæic*. The Athenian cornships intended for the relief of *Selymbria* are seized by Philip, but delivered up on representations, *hardly correct*, of the Athenians.

Tyrants expelled from Euboea by *Phocion*, and Demosthenes crowned for having advised the expedition. Philip captures *Selymbria*, and the Athenians on the advice of Demosthenes apply to Persia for aid, after which Philip, in a letter, virtually declares war against Athens, and sends an army into the Chersonese. Under this year the *Fourth Philippic* (not genuine) is placed by *Dionysius*.

Perinthus attacked, and the siege being raised by the Persians. Philip marches having gone to the Amphictyonic council, as one of the Athenian *Pylagoras* accuses the Locrians of cultivating the Sacred Plain, and stirs up an Amphictyonic war, which was ended by the intervention of Philip, and the total subversion of the Grecian States.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

XXI

341-0	109.4	Nicomachus	up on representations, hardly correct, of the Athenians. Tyrants expelled from Euboea by Phocion, and Demosthenes crowned for having advised the expedition. Philip captures Selymbria, and the Athenians on the advice of Demosthenes apply to Persia for aid, after which Philip, in a letter, virtually declares war against Athens, and sends an army into the Chersonese. Under this year the <i>Fourth Philippic</i> (not genuine) is placed by Dionysius.
340 }	110.1	Theophrastus.	Perinthus attacked, and the siege being raised by the Persians. Philip marches having gone to the Amphictyonic council, as one of the Athenian Pythagoras accuses the Locrians of cultivating the Sacred Plain, and stirs up an Amphictyonic war, which was ended by the intervention of Philip, and the total subversion of the Grecian States.
339-8	110.2	Lysimachides	Aid voted to Byzantium at Chios, Cos, Rhodes and Athens, and Charles is sent to assist them. They refuse to receive him in the city, and Phocion is substituted. Demosthenes induces the Athenians to vote that Philip had broken the peace, and they send aid to Olynthus, thereby causing him to raise the siege and return home. He is given the command against the Locrians, and advancing towards them captures Elateia. Demosthenes carries a law authorizing a treaty with Thebes a few days before.
338-7	110.3	Charondas.	Demosthenes sent to Thebes, where he induces them, notwithstanding the offers of Pythion to become allies of Athens. The war then commences. Charles defeated by Philip, and at last in October the hostile armies meet at Cheronæa, and the final victory is gained by Philip. The Athenians condemn their general Lysicles to death, and fortify the city under the active charge of Demosthenes, who this year was repairer of the walls and treasurer of the Theoric fund. Philip makes a triumphal march through Greece, bestows peace upon Athens, and at Corinth is elected General of the Greeks against Persia.
337-6	110.4	Phrynichus.	Ctesiphon proposes his decree for crowning Demosthenes at the greater Dionysia, for which he is impeached by Æschines. Philip having sent Parmenio and Attalus into Asia Minor to liberate the Grecian cities, returns to Macedonia, and marries Cleopatra.
336-5	111.1	Pythodemos	Philip while celebrating the marriage of his daughter to the King of Epirus at Edessa is murdered by Pausanias, and Alexander succeeds in his twentieth year. Active measures taken to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and embassies sent to all Greece, and to Attalus in Asia to revolt from Alexander.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
336-5	111.1	Pythodemos.	Alexander at Thermopylæ is elected general of the Greeks, and obtains the submission of Athens and Thebes. He then proceeds northward into Illyria, and across the Danube; returning he hears of the revolt of Thebes. Alexander captures and destroys Thebes, and sells the prisoners as slaves. The Theban territory divided among the Boeotian towns. The Athenians having voted aid to Thebes, Alexander demands that Demosthenes, Lycurgus and Hyperides be given up to him; and finally, on the advice of Demades, does not insist upon their delivery.
335-4	111.2	Euænetus.	Alexander crosses into Asia, and defeats the forces of Darius at the passage of the Granicus. Persia intrigues for the revolt of the Grecian States from Macedon. The decree of Ctesiphon proposed in OL. 110, 4, now comes up for trial, and Demosthenes and Æschines deliver their speeches <i>De Corona</i> in the early part of the year. Æschines is defeated and retires to Rhodes. Messages sent to the various Greek States to pay divine honors to Alexander. Harpalus arrives at Athens, is demanded by Antipater governor of Macedonia in Alexander's absence. Being thrown into prison in Athens, his treasure is lodged in the Acropolis, and a portion of it being missed, Demosthenes is charged with having taken a bribe from him. He is condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, and being unable flies to Megara, and thence to Trezene, and is banished. Alexander dies at Babylon.
334-3	111.3	Ctesicles.	Alexander being dead, the Athenians and other States of Greece, by means of their ambassadors prepare for war against Macedon, and Leosthenes is chosen general. Agents are sent in every direction, and Demosthenes in exile joins the envoys to Peloponnesus. On his return to Ægina, a trireme is sent, on motion of Demo, son of Demomeles, to bring him back to Athens, rendered complete by the desertion of the allies, August, 323. The anger of the populace is again aroused against Demosthenes and the war party; and Antipater and Craterus approaching the city, they seek safety in flight. Demades carries a decree to put them to death, and soon afterwards
330 } 329 }	112.3	Aristophon.	
324-3	114.1	Hegesias.	
323-2	114.2	Cephalisodorus	

Demosthenes is charged with having taken a bribe from him. He is condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, and being unable to pay, is banished. Alexander dies at Babylon. Demosthenes is charged with having taken a bribe from him. He is condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, and being unable to pay, is banished. Alexander dies at Babylon. Demosthenes is charged with having taken a bribe from him. He is condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, and being unable to pay, is banished. Alexander dies at Babylon.

323-2 114.2 Cephisodorus

rendered complete by the desertion of the allies, August, 323. The anger of the populace is again aroused against Demosthenes and the war party; and Antipater and Craterus approaching the city, they seek safety in flight. Demades carries a decree to put them to death, and soon after they are demanded by Antipater. Hyperides, Aristonicus and Himeræus are seized in the temple of Æacus in Ægina, and being sent to Antipater at Cleonæ, are there put to death. But Demosthenes having fled to the Island of Calauria, and taken refuge there at the altar of Neptune to save himself from the hands of Antipater, drank poison, and died on the 16th day of Pynepsion, which corresponds to the 14th day of October, B. C., 322. Forty-two years afterwards his statue was erected in Athens, near the temple of Mars, with the following inscription:

Εἴπερ ἔσται βόλμην γινώμη, Δημόσθενες, εἴχες,
οὐ ποτ' ἐν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν Ἀρης Μακεδών.

Κακῶς ἐν
ληλύθασιν
παύεται παύ
ει, καὶ εἰση
δύο δύνα
οι μένουσα
άττω, ξένα
ων, κελεύει
ηθείας, ἀλ
πτως, ἵνα
χειμῶνα,
ρῇ τοῖς πρ
κρατῇ, ἀ

Εἰ μὲν τ
Αθηναῖοι, λ
γνώμην ἀπε
θέντων, ἡ
γιγνώσκω
αὐτοὶ πρότερ
ας ἀναστὰς
παρεληλυθό
αὐτῶν νῦν
Πρῶτον
αὐτοῖσι πρά
ἵστι χεῖριστο

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Κακῶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φερόμενοι συν-
 ηλύθασιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀθυμοῦντες. ὁ τοίνυν βήτωρ τήν τε ἀθυμίαν
 κερᾶται παύειν, λέγων οὐδὲν εἶναι θαυμαστὸν εἰ ῥαθυμοῦντες κεκράτην-
 τε, καὶ εἰσηγεῖται πῶς ἂν ἄριστα τῷ πολέμῳ προσενεχθεῖεν. κελεύει
 τοὺς δύο δυνάμεις παρασκευάσασθαι, μίαν μὲν μείζω, πολιτικὴν, ἥτις
 τοὺς μένουσα πρὸς τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν χρεῖας ἑτοιμος ὑπάρξει, ἐτέραν δὲ
 ἡμέτερον, ξένων ὕψτων τῶν στρατευομένων, παραμεμιγμένων δὲ καὶ πολι-
 τικῶν, κελεύει μὴ Ἀθήνησι μένειν μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ποιεῖσθαι τὰς
 ἀπαιτήσεις, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀναστρέφειν πολέμουσαν ἀδια-
 λείπτως, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἐτησίως πνέοντας ἐπιτηρήσας ὁ Φίλιππος ἢ καὶ
 χειμῶνα, ἡνίκα Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν πλεῖν οὐ δυνατὸν, ἐπι-
 κερῇ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπάν-
 τῃ κρατῇ, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταξομένη δύναμις ὑπάρχῃ.

Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προτίθετο, ὧ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγειν, ἐπισχὼν ἂν ἕως οἱ πλείστοι τῶν εἰωθότων
 γνώμην ἀπεφώνησαντο, εἰ μὲν ἤρεσκε τί μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων
 ἐπὶ θέντων, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἦγον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότε ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην
 ἀπογινώσκω λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ ὧν πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν
 οὗτοι πρότερον συμβαίνει καὶ νυνὶ σκοπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶ-
 τος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ
 παρεληλυθότος χρόνου τὰ δέοντα οὗτοι συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν
 ἡμᾶς νῦν ἔδει βουλεύεσθαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς
 παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδ' εἰ πάννυ φαύλως ἔχειν δοκεῖ. ὁ γάρ
 οὐκ ἔστι χεῖριστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο πρὸς

τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; οὐδὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακὸν προσέχει
 τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἃ προσήκε πραττόντων οὐτὶς προσέχει
 εἶχεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι. ἔπειτα ἐνθυμηθεὶς ἄνδρες
 καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμνησθῆναι
 κριμένοι, ἢ λίκην ποτ' ἐχόντων δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὗ δὲ καὶ
 χρόνος οὐ πολὺς, ὡς καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάγκη εἶναι ἅπαν
 ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὑπεμείνατε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑλπίσματ' ἐν
 νικῶν δικαίων τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον. τίνος οὖν ἐνεσθῆναι δ' αὖτε
 ταῦτα λέγω; ἢ εἰδῆτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεάσασθε καὶ τησθῆναι
 οὐδὲν οὔτε φυλαττομένοις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ φοβερὸν οὐτ', ἂν ὀλιγοῦσι Ἀθησίων
 τοιοῦτον οἶον ἂν ὑμεῖς βούλοισθε, παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι εἴσθε, ἂν
 τότε ῥώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἧς ἐκρατεῖτε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχοντος, καὶ
 τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῇ νῦν ὕβρει τούτου, δι' ἣν ταῦτα παρόντων
 τόμεθα ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν ὧν ἐχρήν. εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν κείνους καὶ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυσπολέμητον οἶεται τὸν Φίλιππον εὐνοῦν νῦν ἐπὶ
 σκοπῶν τό τε πλήθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως καὶ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις
 τὰ χωρία πάντα ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πόλει, ὀρθῶς μὲν οἶεται, λαοὶ δὲ νομίζουσι
 σάσθω μέντοι τοῦθ', ὅτι εἵχομεν ποτε ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔχοντες
 Πύδναν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον τῆς ἡπείρου, ἣν ἀπὸ
 τὸν οἰκεῖον κύκλῳ, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου νῦν ὄντων ἐπὶ τῇ ἡπείρῳ, τὸ
 αὐτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερα ὑπῆρχε καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβόλῃ δ' αἵρεσιν
 λετ' ἔχειν οἰκεῖως ἢ κείνῳ. εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε περικτενέει καὶ
 τὴν ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, ὡς χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖοις, τὴν ἔχοντες
 ἔχουσι τοσαῦτα ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας ἔρημον οὐκ ὡς περιβεβλημένην
 συμμάχων, οὐδὲν ἂν ὧν νυνὶ πεποίηκεν ἔπραξεν, οὐδὲ τοσαύτῃ ἀντιθέμενος
 τὴν ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν. ἀλλ' εἶδεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ὅτι ἃ χρὴ
 καλῶς ἐκείνος, ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἅπαντα τὰ χωρία ἀθλαστάκη τις
 πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ, φύσει δ' ὑπάρχει τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐν γὰρ οἰκίᾳ
 τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ πράγματα
 ὀμειλούντων. καὶ γὰρ τοι ταύτῃ χρησάμενος τῇ γνώμῃ παρόντων πυνθίσκῃ
 κατέστραπται καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἂν ἐλὼν τις ἔχοι πολέμῳ ἑσπερον ἢ Μ.

ὅν ἐστι τοῦτο; ἡ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα ποιησάμενος. καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ
 ποιοῦντων ὑμῶν κακὸν προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῦτοισι ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες, οὓς ἂν ὀρώσι
 σῆκε πραττόντων οὐκ ἀρεσκευασμένους καὶ πράττειν ἐθέλοντας ἃ χρῆ. ἂν τούτων,
 θαι. ἔπειτα ἐνθυμητῶς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐβελήσθητε
 σιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμιμνήσκειν γνώμης νῦν, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐ πρότερον, καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν,
 Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὗ δέ καὶ δύναιτ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει,
 κηκόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάγκη ἶσσαν ἀφείς τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν ἕτοιμος πράττειν ὑπάρξει, ὃ μὲν
 ναιτε ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὃ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι, — συνε-
 μον. τίνος οὖν ἐνεῖναι δ' ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἂν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐβελήσθητε γενέσθαι καὶ
 αἰοι, καὶ θεάσθησθε καὶ γησθε αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἕκαστος ποιήσειν ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ
 ρὸν οὐτ', ἂν ὀλιγοῦσιν ἀλλοτρίων πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξειν, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερά αὐτῶν κομι-
 δεύμασι χρώμενοι γησθε, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, καὶ τὰ κατεβράθυμηνά πάλιν ἀναλήψ-
 τεῖτε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχοντος, κἀκεῖνον τιμωρήσεσθε. μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῶ νομίζετ' ἐκείνῳ
 τούτου, δι' ἣν ταῦτα παρόντα πεπηγένηι πράγματα ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις
 ἦν. εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν κείνον καὶ δέδιεν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φθονεῖ, καὶ τῶν
 τὸν Φίλιππον εὐνοῦν νῦν δοκούντων οἰκειῶς ἔχειν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα περ
 αὐτῷ δυνάμει καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἐνι, ταῦτα κἀν τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου
 ὁθῶς μὲν οἶεται, λατρεῖ νομίζειν ἐνεῖναι. κατέπηχε μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα νῦν,
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔχοντ' ἀποστροφὴν διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ ῥαθυ-
 πᾶντα τὸν τύπον τῆς ψυχῆς, ἣν ἀποθέσθαι φημι δεῖν ἡδῇ. ὁρᾶτε γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, νῦν ὄντων ἐβελήσθητε, τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἱ προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας ἄνθρωπος, ὃς
 μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβελήσθη δ' αἵρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν ἢ ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλ'
 Φίλιππος τότε πείθει καὶ λόγους ὑπερφάνους, ὡς φασι, λέγει, καὶ οὐχ οἷός
 μείν ἐστιν Ἀθηναῖον ἔχων ἃ κατέστραπται μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τι
 τῆς χώρας ἔρημον ἀποσπεριβάλλεται καὶ κύκλῳ πανταχῇ μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ
 ἔπραξεν, οὐδὲ τοσοῦτον ἡμετέροις περιστοιχίζεται. πότ' οὖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τότε ἃ χρῆ πράξετε; ἐπειδὴν τί γένηται; ἐπειδὴν νῆ Δι'
 αὐτὰ τα χωρία ἀθλαστάκη τις ἦ. νῦν δὲ τί χρῆ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐγὼ
 ραίει τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐν γὰρ οἶμαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν
 αἰ κινδυνεύειν τὰ πραγμάτων αἰσχύνῃ εἶναι. ἢ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, περιμόντες
 ἐνός τῇ γνώμῃ πάντων πυνθάνεσθαι, λέγεται τι καινόν; γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν τι και-
 νόν τις ἔχοι πολέμου ἢ Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίου καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν

Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν; τέθηκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀσθ
νεῖ. τί δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέ
ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἅπερ οὕτω προσέχχτε τ
πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ῥώμ
τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ ῥέξῃται ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. καὶ
καὶ τοῦτο· εἴ τι πάθῃ καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν ὑπάρξαι, ἤπ
ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ
γάσαιο ἴσθ' ὅτι πλησίον μὲν ὄντες, ἅπασιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμα
τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες ὅπως βούλεσθε διοικήσασθε, ὥς
νῦν ἔχετε οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι
ναίσθ' ἂν, ἀπηρητμένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμα

Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας ὑπάρχειν πάντας ἐτοιμῶς, ὥς ἐγνωκότων ὑμῶν καὶ πεπεισμένων, παύμαι λέγων· τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς ἦν ἀπαλλάξαι τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς οἶομαι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον καὶ πόρους οὐστinas χρημάτων, καὶ τᾶλλα ὥς ἂν μοι βέλτερον δοκῇ καὶ τάχιστα δοκεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι γίνεσθαι, δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοσούτων. ἐπειδὴ ὅτι πάντα ἀκούσητε, κρίνατε, μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε· μετὰ τὸν χρόνον ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ τι καὶ καὶνὴν παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀναβάλλω, καὶ μετὰ τὰ πράγματα ἡγήεσθω. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχὺ καὶ τήμερον εἰπὼν τίς τις μάλιστα εἰς δέον λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τά γε ἦδη γεγενῆσθαι μένα τῇ νυνὶ βοηθείᾳ κωλύσαι δυνηθείημεν· ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν δευτέραν ἐξέτις πορισθεῖσα παρασκευὴ καὶ πόσις καὶ πόθεν διαμεῖναι δυνήσεται, ἕως ἂν ἡ διαλυσώμεθα πεισθέντες τὸν πόλεμον ἢ περιγενώμεθα τῶν ἐχθρῶν· οὕτω γὰρ οὐκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ πάσχοιμεν, οὐδὲν κακῶς. οἶμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ κωλύων εἰδούμενοι, ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεται τι. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπόσχεσις οὕτω μεγάλη, καὶ τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα ἦδη τὸν ἔλεγχον δώσει· κριταὶ δ' ὑμεῖς ἔσσεσθαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τριήρεις περὶ δὲ Ἀθη-
κοντα παρασκευάσασθαι φημι δεῖν, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς οὕτω τὰς γῆρας ἡλικίας
μας ἔχειν ὥς, εἰάν τι δέη, πλευστέον εἰς ταύτας αὐτοῖς ἐμβα-
μακρὸν τ

οὐ μὰ Δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδος καὶ ἄλλου τοῦτο δὲ τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν ἱππέων ἱππαγωγὸς τριήρεις
 οὗτος τι πάθῃ, ταχέως καὶ πλοῖα ἱκανὰ εὐτρεπίσαι κελεύω. ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν
 οὕτω προσέχετε τὴν ἀντοχὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξαίφνης ταύτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας χώρας αὐτοῦ
 ἀρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ῥώμης στρατείας εἰς Πύλας καὶ Χερρόνησον καὶ Ὀλυνθον καὶ ὅποι
 ἔρραν ἀμελείαν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκείνῳ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ παραστήναι, ὥς
 ἡμῖν ὑπάρξαι, ἥτοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς ἄγαν, ὥσπερ εἰς Εὐβοίαν καὶ
 ὕμῃ, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ ἑτέρου ποτέ φασιν εἰς Ἀλιάρτον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα πρῶην
 αὖτις Πύλας, ἴσως ἂν ὁρμήσαιτε. οὗτοι παντελῶς οὐδ' εἰ μὴ ποιή-
 σιν ἂν τοῦτο, ὥς ἔγωγ' εἶμι δεῖν, εὐκαταφρόνητόν ἐστιν, ἢ
 ἐφίπολιν δέξασθαι διὰ τὸν φόβον εἰδὼς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς — εἴσεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς·
 οὐαὶ καὶ ταῖς γνώμας, καὶ γὰρ, εἰσὶν οἱ πάντ' ἐξαγγέλλοντες ἐκείνῳ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν
 ἐθέλοντας ὑπάρχειν τοῦ δέοντος — ἡσυχίαν ἔχῃ, ἢ παριδὼν ταῦτα ἀφύλακ-
 οὖν πεπεισμένων, παρὰ ληφθῇ, μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐμποδὼν πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν
 οὗς ἦν ἀπαλλάξαι, ἢ ἂν ἐνδῶ καιρόν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἅ πᾶσι δεδόχθαι φημι
 καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσων καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι προσήκειν οἶμαι. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς
 ὡς ἂν μοι βέλτερον γαμῖν τινα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φημι προχειρίσασθαι δεῖν
 ὅ,τι δὴ πειράσομαι ὑμᾶς, ἢ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ κακῶς ἐκείνον ποιήσει. μὴ
 τοσοῦτον. ἐπεὶ καὶ μυρίους μὴδὲ δισμυρίους ξένους, μὴδὲ τὰς ἐπιστολιμαίους
 προλαμβάνετε· μὴ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἕνα καὶ
 λέγειν, ἀναβάλλετε τοῦ δέοντος καὶ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ ὄντινον χειροτονήσῃτε στρατηγὸν,
 καὶ τήμερον εἰπὼν πείσεται καὶ ἀκολουθήσει. καὶ τροφήν ταύτη πορίσαι
 ἂν τά γε ἤδη γεγενημένη. ἔσται δ' αὕτη τίς ἡ δύναμις καὶ πόση, καὶ πόθεν τὴν
 ἐν' ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν δευροφὴν ἔξει, καὶ πῶς ταῦτ' ἐβελήσει ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ φράσω, καθ'
 ὅθεν διαμεῖναι δυνήσασθον τοιῶν διεξιῶν χωρὶς. ξένους μὲν λέγω — καὶ ὅπως
 πόλεμον ἢ περιγένηται ποιήσετε ὁπολλὰς ὑμᾶς ἐβλάψεν· πάντ' ἐλάττω νομί-
 λου ποῦ πείσομεν, καὶ εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν
 εἶναι, μὴ κωλύων εἶναι οὐκ οὐκ, ἐπὶ τῷ πράττειν οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ ποιεῖτε. ἀλλὰ τὰ
 ἔχουσιν οὕτω μεγάλα καὶ ποιεῖσαντες καὶ πορίσαντες τοῖς προστίθετε, ἂν ἐλάττω
 οἶται δ' ὑμεῖς ἔσονται ἵκνῃται. λέγω δὴ τοὺς πάντας στρατιώτας δισχιλίους, τού-
 τοι, τριήρεις περὶ δὲ Ἀθηναίους φημι δεῖν εἶναι πεντακοσίους, ἐξ ἧς ἂν τινος
 οὗτους οὕτω τὰς γὰρ ἡλικίας καλῶς ἔχειν δοκῇ, χρόνον τακτὸν στρατευσομένους,
 ὅπως αὐτοῖς ἐμβάσαντες μακρὸν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐκ διαδο-

και κελεύω. καὶ μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς
 τετήκοιτο Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵππουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες
 τὸν τρόπον στρατείας, οὕτως καὶ πηλῖνοι, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ
 τί πρὸς τοῦτοις ἐκείνους φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, ὦ ἄνδρες
 ἐκείνου ναυτικόν, Ἀθηναῖοι, ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν, ἱππάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν ἀρχον-
 δύναμις πλήρῃ. πόθεν οἰκείους εἶναι ἢ ἢν ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως ἡ δύναμις; ἀλλ'
 αὐτὸ φράσω. καὶ μὲν Δῆμνον τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἱππαρχον δεῖ πλεῖν, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ
 τῆς πόλεως κτημάτων ἀγωνιζομένων Μενέλαον ἱππαρχεῖν;
 καὶ οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἔδει
 δια ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ᾖ.

ἴσως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἡγήσθε λέγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν
 οὐ πολέμου χρημάτων, πόσα καὶ πόθεν ἔσται, μάλιστα ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦσαι.
 οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μισθὸς τοῦτο δὴ καὶ περαίνω. χρήματα τοῖνυν, ἔστι μὲν ἡ τροφή,
 εἶναι δεῖ. πολὺταισι σιτηρέσιον μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ, τάλαντα ἐνενήκοντα, καὶ
 ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν τι πρὸς, δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ ταχείαις τετταράκοντα τάλαντα,
 ὅλιν, οὐ Πολύστρατον εἰς τὴν ναὺν μναῖ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου, στρατιώταις δὲ
 ἄλλοι τινὲς, καὶ αὐτοῖς σιτηρέσιον τοσαύτ' ἕτερα, ἵνα δέκα τοῦ μηνὸς ὁ στρατιώτης
 ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίων σιτηρέσιον λαμβάνῃ, τοῖς δ' ἱππεῦσι διακοσίοις οὖσιν,
 οἱ ξένοι καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἑκατὶντριάκοντα δραχμὰς ἕκαστος λαμβάνῃ τοῦ μηνὸς, δώδεκα
 καὶ ὑμῖν στρατείας τάλαντα. εἰ δέ τις οἶεται μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν εἶναι σιτηρέσιον
 δ' ἐχθροὶ μείζους τοῖς στρατευσόμενοις ὑπάρχειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν. ἐγὼ γὰρ
 τὸν γῆς πόλεως πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν σαφῶς ὅτι, τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται, προσποριεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτὸ
 ὅτι οἷσται πλέοντα τὸ στρατεύμα ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀδικοῦν
 ὅτι τῶν συμμάχων, ὥστ' ἔχειν μισθὸν ἐντελεῖ. καγὼ δὲ συμ-
 μελέων ἐβελοντὴς πάσχειν ὅτιοι ἐτοιμοί, ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτ' οὕτως
 αὐτῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἔχῃ. πόθεν οὖν ὁ πόρος τῶν χρημάτων. ἂ παρ' ὑμῶν κελεύω
 ἐνέσθαι, τοῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεδυνήμεθα εὐρεῖν,
 αὐτὸ ἔστιν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπιχειροτονήτε τὰς γνώμας, ἂν ὑμῖν
 στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἀρχιστράτηγους ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονήσατε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι κἀν
 ποιῶσιν; πλὴν καὶ ἐπιστολαῖς πολεμῇτε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις.

Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἂν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς βουλευέσασθαι, εἰ τὸν τόπον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς χώρας πρὸς ἣν πολεμεῖτε, ἐνθυμηθεῖητε, καὶ λογίσασθαι, ὅτι τοῖς πνεύμασι καὶ ταῖς ὥραις τοῦ ἔτους τὰ πολλὰ προλαβάνοντες καὶ τὰ βάνων διαπράττεται Φίλιππος καὶ φυλάσας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἢ τὰς ἐπιχειρῶναι, αἱ δὲ χειμῶνα ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἥνικ' ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθα ἐκείσε ἀφικέσθαι. δεῖ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἐνθυμουμένους μὴ βοηθείας πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ ὑστεριοῦμεν γὰρ ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει. ὑπάρχει δ' ἡμῖν χειμαδίῳ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει Λημνίων, καὶ Θάσῳ καὶ Σκιαθῷ καὶ ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῇ τόπῳ νήσοις, καὶ τῶν αἰσ καὶ λιμένες καὶ σίτος καὶ ἡ χρὴ στρατεύματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχει. τὴν δ' ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι ῥάδιον ἐστὶν, τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀσφαλές, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόμασι ῥαδίως ἔσται.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστὰς ὑφ' ἡμῶν βουλευέσεται. ἃ δ' ὑπομαγαροῖν ἔξει δεῖ παρ' ἡμῶν, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ἐγὼ γέγραφα. ἂν ταῦτα οὗτοι ἀντ' ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πορίσῃτε τὰ χρήματα πρῶτον ἃ λέγω, εἴτα οὐμὲν, καὶ τὰλλα παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὰς τριήρεις, τοὺς χωρὶς ἱππέας, ἐντελὴ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν, νόμῳ κατακλείσῃτε ἐπὶ ταῖς πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ ποριστὰν γὰρ τοὺς γιγνόμενοι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸν λόγον μὲν, οἱ δὲ ἀπαιτοῦντες, παύσεσθ' ἀεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευόμενοι ἀραρυῆτα πλέον οὐδὲν ποιῶντες, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον μὲν, ὧς ἂν ῥέμῃτ' ἡμῶν Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου πόρων ἀφαίρῃσθε οὐ μὴν ἐξελῆσθαι οὗτος τίς; ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑμῖν πολεμῇ συμμάχῳ πιστέλλειν ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς πλείοντας τὴν θύλατταν. ἔπειτα τί πρὸς τούτῳ; τοῦ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἕξω γενήσεσθε, οὐχ ὥστε τούτων, τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον εἰς Δῆμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον ἐμβαλὼν αὐτοὶ τὰ πολυμαλῶτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους ὥχετ' ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Γεραιστῷ ἂν εἰ μὲν πλοῖα συλλαβὼν ἀμύθητα χρήματ' ἐξέλεξε, τὰ τελευταῖα δὲ πράγματ' Ἐπιδάμῳ Μαραθῶνα ἀπέβη καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὥχετ' ἔχων τῶν λόγων

αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ φενακίζειν ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ ἅπαντ' ἀναβαλλομένους οὐσαν
 ἂν ἢ δυσχερῇ πάντων ὑστερεῖν τῶν ἔργων, καὶ μηδὲ τοῖς ὅτι γινώσκοντες
 δύνασθαι μαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς πολέμῳ χρωμένους ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς
 πράγμασιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἐμπροσθεν εἶναι τῶν ἀποπραγμάτων,
 καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐξίμεναι ἀξιώσειέ
 τις ἂν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἄλλοτερον;
 μάτων τοὺς βουλευομένους, ἢ ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ, ταῦτα πράττειν ἡμεῖς;
 τηται καὶ μὴ τὰ συμβάντα ἀναγκάζονται διώκειν. ἡμεῖς οὖν οἱ ἄνδρες
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλείστην δύναμιν ἀπάντων ἔχοντες, τριπλάσιον
 πλοῦτος, ὑπλίτας, ἱππέας, χρημάτων πρόσδοτον, τοῦτων μὲν μέγιστος τῶν
 τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας οὐδενὶ πώποτε εἰς δέον τι κέχρησθε, οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν
 δ' ἀπολείπεσθε, ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι πυκτεύουσιν, οὕτω πολέμῳ μὴ πάντως
 Φιλίππῳ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ πληγῆς ἀεὶ τῆς πληγῆς ἔχει τὴν συναγωγὴν
 καὶ ἐτέρωτε πατάξῃ τις ἐκείσε εἰσιν αἱ χεῖρες· προβάλλουσιν τὰς ἀπὸ
 δ' ἢ βλέπειν ἐναντίον οὐτ' οἶδεν οὐτ' ἐθέλει. καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐκείνων γίγνεται
 Χερρόνησῳ πύθησθε Φίλιππον, ἐκείσε βοηθεῖν ψηφίζεσθε, καὶ τοὶ τεθῆναι
 ἐν Πύλαις, ἐκείσε, ἐὰν ἄλλοθι που, συμπαραθεῖτε ἄνω κάπνισμα, οὐκ
 καὶ στρατηγεῖσθε μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, βεβούλευσθε δ' οὐδὲν αἰσχροῦ ὅσα
 συμφέρον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἰτιάσθαι
 ἅτε οὐδὲν, πρὶν ἂν ἢ γεγενημένον ἢ γιγνόμενόν τι πύθησθαι ἀπόλωται
 ταῦτα δ' ἴσως πρότερον μὲν ἐνὶ νῦν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἡκεῖν ἐπινομήσθαι
 ἀκμήν, ὥστ' οὐκέτ' ἐγχωρεῖ. δοκεῖ δέ μοι θεῶν τις, ὃ ἀνὰ πύθοντι
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς γιγνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχυρόμενος, ἂν τύχηται
 φιλοπραγμοσύνην ταύτην ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίππῳ. εἰ γὰρ ἔχωσι Πῶς οὐ
 κατέστραπται καὶ προεῖληφεν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἡθελε καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς
 ἐπραττεν ἔτι, ἀποχωρῆν ἐνίοις ὑμῶν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ ἐξ ὧν αἰσχυρομένων καὶ
 καὶ ἀνανδρίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχιστα ὠφληκότες ἂν ἦμεν διὰ τοῦτον μόνον
 σία. νῦν δ' ἐπιχειρῶν ἀεὶ τινι καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος, ὃς εἰς τὸ
 ἴσως ἂν ἐκκαλέσαιτ' ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνώκατον ἕκαστος
 θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε, εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν μήτ' ἐνθυμεῖται μήτε ὀργισθὲν ἔχθρου
 ταί, ὁρῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ
 γεγεννημένην περὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσθαι Φίλιππον, τὴν δὲ τῶν αἰρουμένων

παντ' ἀναβαλλομένους οὖσαν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. ἀλλὰ
 ῥῳγῶν, καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτον ὅτι γ' οὐ στήσεται, δῆλον, εἰ μὴ τις κολύσει. εἴτα τοῦτ'
 ὁλέμῳ χρωμένους ἀπονοούμεν, καὶ τριήρεις κενὰς καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δέινος ἐλπί-
 ῃς ἐμπροσθεν εἶναι τὰς ἂν ἀποστείλῃτε, πάντ' ἔχειν οἴεσθε καλῶς; οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθα;
 ἐν τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐξίμεν αὐτοὶ μέρει γέ τινα στρατιωτῶν οἰκείων νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ
 οὕτω καὶ τῶν προσηύμενον; οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου πλευσόμεθα; ποῖ οὖν προσορ-
 οῖς δοκῇ, ταῦτα προσηύμεθα; ἤρετό τις. εὐρήσει τὰ σαθρὰ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν
 ταῦτα διώκειν. ὑμεῖς οὖν πρὸς τὰς ἀποφασίμων πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος, ἂν ἐπιχειρῶμεν. ἂν μέντοι
 πάντων ἔχοντες, τριήρεις οἴκοι, λοιδορουμένων ἀκούοντες καὶ αἰτιωμένων ἀλλή-
 ῳ, τοῦτων μὲν μέγας τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόν-
 ῳ τι κέχρησθε, οὐδεὶς γάρ ἂν, οἶμαι, μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως συναποσταλῇ,
 οὐσιν, οὕτω πολέμῳ μὴ πᾶσα παρῇ, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης
 εἰ τῆς πληγῆς ἔχειν ἂν συναγωνίζεσθαι. ὅποι δ' ἂν στρατηγὸν καὶ ψήφισμα κενὸν
 εἴρες' προβάλλουσιν, τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας ἐκπέμψετε, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν τῶν
 ἐλεῖ. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀντιπρόσθεν γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ καταγελωσιν, οἱ δὲ σύμ-
 μεθεῖν ψηφίζεσθε, οἱ τοὺς θεοὺς θανάσι τῷ δέει τοιούτους ἀποστόλους. οὐ γὰρ
 παραθεῖτε ἄνω κάθισιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἓνα ἄνδρα δυνήθηναί ποτε ταυτ' ἡμῖν πράξαι
 πλεονεξέειν δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ὅσα βούλεσθε. ὑποσχέσθαι μέντοι καὶ φῆσαι καὶ τὸν
 ὃν πραγμάτων πρὸς τὴν αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἔστι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα ἐκ τού-
 γνόμενόν τι πύθησιν ἀπόλωλεν. ὅταν γὰρ ἡγῇται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων
 δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἦκει ἐπομίσθων ξένων, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκεῖνος πράξῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 οἱ θεῶν τις, ὦ αἰὲν ἐπιδόμοντες ῥαδίως ἐνθάδ' ὥσιν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἀκούσητε ὁ
 εὖς αἰσχυρόμενος τὴν αὐτῆς τύχητε ψηφίζησθε, τί καὶ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν;
 ἴππῳ. εἰ γὰρ ἔχω. Πῶς οὖν ταῦτα παύσεται; ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 ἔχειν ἤθελε καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξῃτε στρατιώτας καὶ μάρτυρας τῶν στρατη-
 δοκεῖ ἐξ ὧν αἰσχυρόμενων καὶ δικαστὰς οἰκαδ' ἐλθόντας τῶν εὐθυνῶν, ὥστε μὴ
 ἀρκότες ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀκούειν μόνον ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμέτερά αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρόντας ὁρᾶν.
 πλείονος ὀρεγόμενοι δ' εἰς τοῦτ' ἦκει τὰ πράγματα αἰσχύνης ὥστε τῶν στρατη-
 γάσιν ἀπεγνώσκειν ὅταν ἕκαστος δις καὶ τρίς κρίνεται παρ' ἡμῖν περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ
 θυμείται μήτε ὀργίζεσθαι ἐχθροὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἀπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου
 ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδριποδιτῶν καὶ λυποδῶν θάνατον μάλ-
 λιππον, τὴν δὲ τῶν αἰρῶνται τοῦ προσήκοντος. κακούργου μὲν γὰρ ἔστι κρι-

οὖς πολεμίους. ἡμῶν
σὺ Φίλιππον πρῶτον
τείας διασπᾶν, οἱ
ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλε
περιερχόμεθα. ἐγ
εὐς ἐκείνον μεθύ
οιαυτα ὄνειροπολε

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Παραινεῖ διὰ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ ῥήτωρ πολέμιον
ὀπτεύειν τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ μὴ πάνυ πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐγείρ-
θαι καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ εὐ τρεπίζεσθαι πρὸς
ἐλεμον· ἐπιβουλεύειν γὰρ αἰτιάται καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς
ἁλλοῖσι τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖν τὰς πράξεις
αὐτοῦ. ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις δώσειν πρὸς τινὰς πρέσβεις
ἐρχομένους, ἀποροῦντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅ τί ποτε ἀποκρίνασθαι δεῖ. πόθεν
οὗτοι καὶ περὶ τίνων ἤκουσιν, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μὲν οὐ δηλοῦται, ἐκ δὲ
τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἱστοριῶν μαθεῖν δυνατόν. κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν
ἐμψε πρέσβεις ὁ Φίλιππος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, αἰτιώμενος ὅτι δια-
λλοῦσιν αὐτὸν μάτην πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς ἐπαγγεῖλάμενον αὐτοῖς
ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ψευδόμενον δέ. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑπεσχῆσθαι φησιν οὐδὲ
ἐκείσθαι, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐλέγχους ἀπαιτεῖ. ἐπεμψαν δὲ μετὰ Φιλί-
ππου καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μεσσήνιοι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἀθήνας, αἰτιώμενοι καὶ
αὐτοὶ τὸν δῆμον ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις καταδουλούμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον
οὖς τέ ἐστι καὶ συγκροτεῖ, αὐτοῖς δὲ περὶ ἐλευθερίας πολεμοῦσιν
ἀντιοῦται. ἀποροῦσιν οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκ-
ρίσας καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις· πρὸς μὲν τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι εὖνοι μὲν εἰσι
Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ Μεσσηνίων μετὰ Φιλίππου
ἐστῆσαν καὶ μισοῦσι καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποφήνασθαι δύνανται
καὶ αἰα πράττειν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅτι διη-
γορήκασιν μὲν ὧν ἤλπισαν, οὐ μὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου γε αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσιν
ἐπατησθαι· οὔτε γὰρ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνέγραψεν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπαγ-
γέλλαν οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἰδίων πρέσβεων ἐποιήσατό τινα ὑπόσ-
τασιν, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς ἦσαν οἱ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐλπίδα καταστή-
σαντες ὡς Φίλιππος Φωκέας σώσει καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων ὕβριν καταλύσει.
τοῦτο ὁ Δημοσθένης τῶν ἀποκρίσεων μνησθεὶς ἐπαγγέλλεται μὲν
τὰς δώσεις, φησὶ δὲ ὅτι δίκαιον ἦν τοὺς τὴν δυσχέρειαν πεποιηκότας
ἀποκρίσας καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, τοὺς ἀπατήσαντας, φησὶ, τὸν
Φίλιππον καὶ ἀνοίξαντας Φιλίππῳ Πύλας. ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Αἰσχίνῃν

αἰνίττεται, προκατασκευαζόμενος, ὡς φασί, τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν τῆς παραπρεσβείας, ἣν ὕστερον ἐνεστήσατο, καὶ προδιαβάλλων αὐτὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

Ὅταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίνωνται περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, αἰεὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους ὁρῶ φαινομένους καὶ λέγειν μὲν ἅπαντας αἰεὶ τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας Φιλίππου, γιγνόμενον δ' οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν δεόντων οὐδ' ὧν ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἀκούειν ἄξιον. ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἡμῶν προηγμένα τυγχάνει πάντα τὰ πρῶτα τῇ πόλει ὥστ' ὅσοι πρώτων μετὰ τις ἂν μᾶλλον καὶ φανερώτερον ἐξελέγχη Φιλίππον καὶ παραβῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην παραβαίνοιντα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ βουλευόμενα, τοσοῦτ' ὅτι τί χρὴ ποιεῖν συμβουλευσαί χαλεπότερον εἶναι. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων, ὅτι πάντας, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦντας ἔργῳ κωλύειν καὶ πράξεσιν, οὐδὲ δίκαιον λόγους δέον· πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες τούτων μὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ταμεῖν, καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν, τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθει ποιήσειεν, ὑποκνοῦντες, οἷα ποιεῖ δὲ, ὡς δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ, καὶ τοιαῖτα διεξέειπεν Ἕλληνας χόμεθα. ἐπειθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι, ὡς μὲν ἂν εἴποιτε δικαίους λόγους καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλου συνείητε, ἅμεινον Φιλίππου παρελθόντες, κενύσθε, ὡς δὲ κωλύσαιτ' ἂν ἐκείνον πράττειν ταῦτα ἐφ' ὧν ἐκείνησθε, ἂν τινὲς νῦν, παντελῶς ἀργῶς ἔχετε. συμβαίνει δὴ πρᾶγμα ἀναγκαῖον ὄναι τῶνδε οἷμαι, καὶ ὅσως εἰκόσ' ἐν οἷς ἑκάτεροι δισ-οίβετε καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐαυτοῖς γασπιδάζετε, ταῦτ' ἅμεινον ἐκατέροις ἔχει, ἐκείνῳ μὲν αἰ πράξειν αὐτὸν, καὶ ὑμῖν δ' οἱ λόγοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν λέγειν δικαιότερα ἢ ἐν στρατεύσει ἐξαρκεῖ, ῥάδιον, καὶ πόνος οὐδεὶς πρόσεστι τῷ πράγματι· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως τὰ παρόντ' ἐπανορθωθήσεται δεῖ σκοπεῖν καὶ μὴ προελαύνειν ὑμῶν ἐγὼ θόνητα ἔτι πορρωτέρῳ λήσει πάντας ἡμᾶς, μηδ' ἐπιστήσαντες τῶν ἔργων μέγεθος δυνάμειος πρὸς ἣν οὐδ' ἀντάραι δυνήσόμεθα, οὐχ ὁ αἰὶν ἡμῶν δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων τρόπος ὅσπερ πρότερον τοῦ βουλευέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις χάριτος μηδ

αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦν ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ τὰ σώσοντα
 ὧν ῥάστων καὶ τῶν ἡδίστων προαιρετέον.

Πρῶτον μὲν, εἴ τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θαρρῆι ὧν ἡλικὸς
 ὢν καὶ ὅσων κύριός ἐστι Φίλιππος, καὶ μηδένα οἶεται κίνδυνον
 εἶναι τοῦτο τῇ πόλει μηδ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάντα παρασκευάζεσθαι,
 οὐδ' ἀνμάζω, καὶ δεθῆναι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν βούλομαι τοὺς
 λογισμοὺς ἀκοῦσαί μου διὰ βραχέων, δι' οὓς τάναντία ἐμοὶ
 ἐπαρτέστηκε προσδοκᾶν καὶ δι' ὧν ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, ἔν
 ἡμῶν μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ βέλτιον προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, ἂν δ' οἱ
 ἄλλοι ἀρρῶντες καὶ πεπιστευκότες αὐτῷ τούτοις προσθῆσθε. ἐγὼ
 οὐκ ἔστιν ὧν ἄν τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λογίζομαι, τίνων ὁ Φίλιππος κύριος
 τῇ πόλει ὥσθ' ὅσον ῥῶτον μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην κατέστη; Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεύσι
 Φίλιππον καὶ παραγμάτων. τί οὖν; πῶς τούτοις ἐχρήσατο; ἂ Ὀθβαίοις συμ-
 τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπαρτέρει καὶ οὐχ ἂ τῇ πόλει, πράττειν προείλετο. τί δῆποτε;
 βουλευσάμενος πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ πάνθ' ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι
 ὡς ἂν ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων, καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην οὐδ' ἡσυχίαν
 καὶ πράξειςιν, οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδὲν, εἶδε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς, ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει
 τούτων μὲν ἀφέλει καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνδείξαιτο τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ
 ὅς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθει ποιήσειεν, ὑφ' οὗ πεισθέντες ὑμεῖς τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ὠφελείας τῶν
 καὶ τοιαῦτα διεξέειπεν ἄλλων τινὰς Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ προείσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου
 ἂν εἴποιτε δικαίον ὅγον ποιούμενοι, καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι
 Φιλίππου παρεμύχοντες, καὶ πάνθ' ἂ προσήκει προορῶμενοι, ὁμοίως ἐναντιώ-
 ταῦτα ἐφ' ὧν ἐπείσθε, ἂν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρῇ πράττειν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πολε-
 τῶν ἀναγκαῖον οὐκ ἔχοντες τύχοιτε. τοὺς δὲ Ὀθβαίους ἡγήετο, ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντὶ
 οἰοῖσθε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων τὰ λοιπὰ εἴσειν ὅπως βούλεται πράττειν
 ἡμῶν μὲν αἱ πράξεις αὐτὸν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιπράξιν καὶ διακωλύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἂν δικαιότερα ἡμῶν συστρατεύειν, ἂν αὐτοὺς κελεύῃ. καὶ νῦν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ
 ὑφ' ἀπράγματι εἰς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ταῦτα ὑπειληφὺς εὖ ποιεῖ. ὁ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι
 εἶναι καὶ μὴ προσεσθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. κέκρισθε γὰρ ἐκ τού-
 μηδ' ἐπιστήσαντων τῶν ἔργων μόνοι τῶν πάντων μηδεὶς ἂν κέρδους τὰ κοινὰ
 ὁμῶς, οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων προέσθαι, μηδ' ἀνταλλάσσειν μηδεμιᾶς
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λέγοντες χάριτος μηδ' ὠφελείας τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας εὐνοίαν. καὶ

ταῦτ' εἰκότως καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν οὕτως ὑπέιληφε καὶ κατ' Ἀργείων μὲλλει
καὶ Θηβαίων ὡς ἐτέρως, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ παρόντα ὄρων, ἀλλὰ ὑπονοοῦσά
καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογιζόμενος. εὐρίσκει γὰρ, οἶμαι, καὶ μὲλλει
ἀκούει τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους προγόνους, ἐξὼν αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ τοῖς
ἄρχειν Ἑλλήνων ὥστ' αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον ἄλλαι, ἀλλὰ
οὐκ ἀνασχομένους τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἥνικ' ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὸ δῖον αἶμα
ὁ τούτων πρόγονος περὶ τούτων κήρυξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔχθρον
ἐκλιπεῖν προελομένους καὶ παθεῖν ὅτιοι ὑπομείναντας, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸς
μετὰ ταῦτα πράξαντας ταῦθ' ἅ πάντες μὲν αἰεὶ γλίσχονται λέγειν, στείσειεν
ἀξίως ὃ οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ καὶ γὰρ παραλείψω δικαίως, πρῶτα β
(ἔστι γὰρ μείζω τὰ κείνων ἔργα ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις ἂν εἴποι), τοὺς Ἑλλήνων, τ
Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀργείων προγόνους τοὺς μὲν συστρατεύσαντας, τῶν νῦν π
τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντας. οἶδεν οὖν ἀμφοτέρων πάντων δ'
ἰδίᾳ τὸ λυσιτελεῖν ἀγαπήσοντας, οὐχ ὅ τι συνοίσει κοινῇ τῆς πόλεως
Ἑλλήσι σκεφομένους. ἡγεῖτ' οὖν, εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἔλοιτο φίλος, τῷ νῦν γε
ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις αἰρήσασθαι, εἰ δ' ἐκείνοις προσθεῖτο, συνεκείτου δ' ἀντ
γὺς ἔξειεν τῆς αὐτοῦ πλεονεξίας. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους ἀνθ' ὑμῶν χρόνον, π
καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν αἰρεῖται. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τριήρεις γε ὀρᾷ πλείους τιν ὑμετέρο
αὐτοῖς ἢ ὑμῖν οὕσας· οὐδ' ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τιν' ἀρχὴν εὐρησάτω γὰρ Ἀμφί
τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων ἀφέστηκεν· οὐδ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἡγεῖ
μονεῖ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης ὄντα καὶ
ἔτυχεν.

Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δί', εἴποι τις ἂν ὡς πάντα ταῦτ' εἰδὼς, οὐ πλεονεξεσθῆναι τι
ονεξίας ἔνεκεν οὐδ' ὧν ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ τότε ταῦτ' ἐπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πόλεως πρό
τῷ δικαιοτέρῳ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ οὐκ ἀλλοῦ θεραπε
μόνον πάντων τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ νῦν εἰπεῖν. ὁ γὰρ πρῶτα βουλομ
Μεσσηνίαν Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφίεναι κελεύων πῶς ἂν Ὀρχημενίᾳ στήσιν οἷ
μενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν τότε Θηβαίοις παραδοὺς τῷ δίκαιῳ νομῶν ἐν προόψει
ζειν ταῦτ' εἶναι πεποιηκέναι σκήψαιτο;

Ἄλλ' ἐβιάσθη νῆ Δία (τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι' ὑπόλοιπον) καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐμο
παρὰ γνώμην, τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων ὀπλῶν ἐκείνους ἐστίν εἰρή
τῶν ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεῖς, συνεχώρησε ταῦτα. καλῶς. οὐκοῦν φασί. Πῶς γὰρ

καὶ κατ' Ἀργείοισιν μέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους αὐτὸν ὑπόπτως ἔχειν, καὶ
 παρόντα ὄρων, ἀλλὰ ὑποποιοῦσι περιούντες τινὲς ὡς Ἐλάτειαν τειχιεῖ. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα
 εἰ γὰρ, οἶμαι, καὶ μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει γε, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις
 αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις συμβάλλειν οὐ
 βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον ἀλλεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλει
 ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν δυνάμιν μεγάλην ἔχων αὐτὸς ἐστὶ προσδόκιμος. τοὺς μὲν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐχθροὺς Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναιρεῖ, οὓς δ' ἀπό-
 ὑπομείναντας, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸς πρότερον Φωκέας τῶν σώζει; καὶ τίς ἂν ταῦτα
 ἐλπίσονται λέγειν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, οὔτ' εἰ
 παραλείψω δικαίως πρῶτα βιασθεῖς ἄκων ἔπραξεν οὔτ' ἂν εἰ τῶν ἀπεργίνωσκε
 οὐκ ἂν εἴποι, τοὺς Θηβαίους, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ἀλλ'
 συστρατεύσαντας ὧν νῦν ποιεῖ, κἀκεῖνα ἐκ προαιρέσεως δηλὸς ἐστὶ ποιήσας.
 οὐδ' οὐν ἀμφοτέρων πάντων δ', ἂν τις ὀρθῶς θεωρῇ, πάντα πραγματεύεται κατὰ
 τὴν κοινὴν τοῦ πόλεως συντήρησιν. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τιν'
 ἐλοῖτο φίλους τῶν γε δὴ συμβαίνει. λογίσεσθε γάρ. ἄρχειν βούλεται,
 προσθεῖτο, συνεκείνη δ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους ὑπέλιπεν ἡμᾶς. ἀδικεῖ πολὺν
 ἐκείνους ἀντ' ἡμᾶς χρόνον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἄριστα σίνουθεν αὐτῷ· οἷς γὰρ
 οἱ γε ὀρᾷ πλείους τιν' ἡμετέροις ἔχει, τοῖς πάντα τὰλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέκτηται.
 τιν' ἀρχὴν εὐρησέμεν γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν προεῖτο, οὐδ' ἂν οἶκοι μένειν
 ἔμελλεν· οὐδ' ἂν αὐτοὶ βαίως ἡγάγετο. ἀμφοτέρω οὖν οἶδε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιβου-
 λῆς αἰς τῆς εἰρήνης ὄντα καὶ ἡμᾶς αἰσθανομένους· εὖ φρονεῖν δ' ἡμᾶς ὑπο-
 μέναντων, δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν μισεῖν νομίζοι καὶ παρώξυνται,
 οὐδ' εἰδὼς, οὐ πλείονος εἶναι τι προσδοκῶν, ἂν καιρὸν λάβητε, ἂν μὴ φθίσῃ
 οὐδ' ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτος. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέσθηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ
 ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ οὐκ ἀλλοτρίως θεραπεύει τινὰς, Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς
 ὧν εἰπεῖν. ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους τούτοις, οὓς διὰ μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντα
 οὕτως ἂν ὀρχήσασθαι οἶεται, διὰ δὲ σκαλιότητα τρόπων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ'
 οὐκ εἰς τὴν δίκαιαν νομίζον προόψεται. καίτοι σωφρονοῦσί γε καὶ μετρίως ἐναργῆ
 παραδείγματα ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἃ καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ πρὸς
 Θηβαίους ὅπλα ἔστιν εἰρησθαι.
 ὧς. οὐκοῦν φασί. Πῶς γὰρ οἴεσθ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες Μεσσηνιοί, δυσχερῶς

ἀκούειν Ὀλυνθίους, εἴ τις τι λέγοι κατὰ Φιλίππου καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ὅτ' Ἀνθεμοῦντα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡφίστατο, καὶ πᾶσι ἡς πάντες οἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντες ἐκείνους Ποτιδαίαν δ' ἐδίδου τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀποίκους ἐκβαλὼν, καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνήρητο, τὴν χώραν δ' οὐ τοῦτο δ' ἐκείνοις ἐδεδώκει καρποῦσθαι; ἄρα προσδοκᾶν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα παρ' ἐμῶν αὐτὰ πείσεσθαι, ἢ λέγοντος ἂν τινος πιστεῦσαι οἴεσθαι ὑμεῖς οἱ ἄλλ' ὅμως, ἔφην ἐγὼ, μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καρπὸν ὡς ἐσάμενοι πολὺν τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου στέρονται, αἰσχυρὰ ποιεῖν ἐκτεσσόντες, οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προδοθέντες ἀπαρνήσασθαι ἀλλήλων καὶ πραθέντες· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις ἐκείνοις μὲν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὐταὶ λίαν ὁμιλῖαι. τί δ' οἱ Θετταλαὶ; Περὶ μὲν ἂρ' οἴεσθ', ἔφην, ὅτ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πᾶσι φυλάσσειν Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν ἐδίδου, προσδοκᾶν τὴν καθεστῶσαν ἐκείνους ἂν εὖ νῦν δεκαδαρχίαν ἔσσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς; ἢ τὸν τὴν πυλῆν ἀποδόντα τοῦτον τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν προσόδους παραιρήσεσθαι; Ἦν μὲν οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔσσης ὑποσχέσθαι εἰδέναι. ὑμεῖς δ', ἔφην ἐγὼ, δίδοντα μὲν καὶ ὑπισχνούμεναι· οὐκ ὁρᾶτε Φίλιππον, ἐξηπατηκότα δ' ἤδη καὶ παρακεκρουμένον; οἱ δ' ἀπεύχεσθε, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε δι, ἰδεῖν. ἔστι τοίνυν νῆ Δί', ἐφαχόντ' εἰρήνην ἐγὼ, παντοδαπὰ εὐρημένα ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ταῖς τιτηρίαι, οἷον χαρακώματα καὶ τείχη καὶ τάφροι καὶ ἅλλ' ὅσα οὐκ ἐγὼ τοιαῦτα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἅπαντα χειροποίητα, καὶ διαφρασεύεσθαι τῆς νης προσδεῖται· ἐν δέ τι κοινὸν ἢ φύσις τῶν εὖ φρονούντων, προὔλιν ἐν αὐτῇ κέκτηται φυλακτήριον, ὃ πᾶσι μὲν ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ σωτήριον, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀστροπος καὶ τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο; ἀπιστία. ταύτην φυλάττετε, ταύτης ἀντιβῆσθαι ἂν οἴεσθε· ἂν ταύτην σώζετε, οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε. τί ζητεῖτε λαταῖς τεῖς ἔφην. ἐλευθερίαν. εἴτ' οὐχ ὁράτε Φίλιππον ἀλλοτριωτὰν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ταύτῃ καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχοντα; βασιλεὺς γὰρ καὶ τύραννος· ἂν ἅμφοι ἅπας ἐχθρὸς ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ νόμοις ἐναντίος. οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὅπως ἡμᾶς ἐντοῖς ἔφην, μὴ πολέμου ζητοῦντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι δεσπότην εὐρησέμενοι τοὺς ἀντιβῆσθαι

κατὰ Φιλίππου καὶ ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἐκείνοι, καὶ θορυβοῦντες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγε-
ται μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡφίστασθαι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους λόγους παρὰ τῶν πρέσβειων καὶ
ἐπιστολῶν ἀντεποιούσιν· πρόντος ἐμοῦ καὶ πάλιν ὑστερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον
τοίκοις ἐκβαλὼν, καὶ υποσχέσονται τῆς Φιλίππου φιλίας οὐδ' ὧν ἐπαγγέλλεται.
ἀνῆρτο, τὴν χώραν οὐ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἄτοπον, εἰ Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ Πελοποννησίων
οὐδοκᾶν αὐτοὺς τοιοῦτος παρ' ἃ τῷ λογισμῷ βέλτισθ' ὁρώσι τι πράξουσιν, ἀλλ'
πιστεῦσαι οἷσθε, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ καὶ συνιέντες αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν λεγόντων ἀκούοντες
ἐν ἀλλοτριᾷ καρπῷ ὡς ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι, ὡς περιστοιχίζεσθε, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν
στέρνεται, αἰσχρὴν ποιεῖν λήσασθ', ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πάνθ' ὑπομεινάντες. οὕτως
καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπὸ παρατυχῇ ἡδονῇ καὶ ῥαστώνῃ μείζον ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθ' ὑστερον
ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις ἀποδοῖναι μέλλοντος.

τί δ' οἱ Θετταλαὶ; Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑμῖν πρακτέων καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑστερον
ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πάλιν ἐβουλεύεσθε, ἂν σωφρονήτε· ἃ δὲ νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι τὰ
ἑαυτῶν τὴν καθεστῶσαν ἔχοντ' ἂν εἴητ' ἐψηφισμένοι, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.
ἢ τὸν τὴν πυλαίαν;

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ.

Ἦν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας
τα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔσθαι ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς ἐπέισθητε ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην,
καὶ ὑποσχομένους καλεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἂν ποτε ὑπέμεινα πρεσβεύειν, οὔτ' ἂν
αἱ παρακεκρουμέναι εἰς οἷδ' ὅτι ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες, εἰ τοιαῦτα πράξειν
τοῖνυν νῆ Δί', ἐφ' ἧσιν ἐχόντ' εἰρήνης Φίλιππον ψέσθε· ἀλλ' ἦν πολὺ ταύτων ἀφει-
σὸς φυλακὴν καὶ σκότα τὰ τότε λεγόμενα. καὶ πάλιν γ' ἑτέροις καλεῖν. τίνας;
ἄφροι καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσοις ὅτ' ἐγὼ γεγονυῖας ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστέρας ἤκων
ροποῖήτα, καὶ διαπρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, αἰσθόμενος φενακιζομένην τὴν
τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ὅλιν, προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμεν καὶ οὐκ εἶων προέσθαι
ἐν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ὅλιν οὐδὲ Φωκέας, λέγοντας ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ἰδῶρ πίνων εἰκότως
ὡς τοὺς τυράννους ἀστροπος καὶ δύσκολός ἐμί τις ἄνθρωπος, Φίλιππος δ', ἄπερ
ἵπτετε, ταύτης ἀπὸ ἡμῶν εἰσθ' ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ Θεσπιάς μὲν καὶ
πάθητε. τί ζητεῖτε; Λαταῖς τειχεῖ, Θηβαίους δὲ παύσει τῆς ὑβρεως, Χερρόνησον
ποιν ἀλλοτριωτάτην τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλεσι διορύξει, Εὐβοίαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀρωπὸν
εὖς γὰρ καὶ τύραννος τ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει· ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ
οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐνταυθι μνημονεύει· οἷδ' ὅτι ῥηθέντα, καίπερ ὄντες οὐ
δεσπότην εὐρητὴν ἔχοντες τοὺς ἀδικούντας μεμνήσθαι. καὶ τὸ πάντων αἰσχιστον,

καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην εἰσὶν ἂν ἡ
ταύτην ἐψηφίσασθε· οὕτω τελέως ἐπήχθητε. τί δὴ ταῦτα λέγω καὶ
λέγω καὶ καλεῖν φημι δεῖν τούτους; ἐγὼ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς τὰ λυγρὰ
μετὰ τὴν ῥησίαν, ἐρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι, ἀλλὰ
ἵν' εἰς λουδορίαν ἐμπεσὼν ἐμαντῶ μὲν ἐξ ἴσου λόγον παρὰ
ὑμῖν ποιήσω, τοῖς δ' ἐμοὶ προσκρούσασιν ἐξ ἄρχης καὶ
παράσχω πρόφασιν τοῦ πάλιν τι λαβεῖν παρὰ Φιλίππον. ὅτι
ἵνα τὴν ἄλλως ἀδολεσχῶ. ἀλλ' οἴμαι ποθ' ὑμᾶς λυπήσει
Φίλιππος πράττει μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ νυνί· τὸ γὰρ πρᾶγμα ὅσον
προβαῖνον, καὶ οὐχὶ βουλομένην μὲν ἂν εἰκάξειν ὀρθῶς, φοβερὴ
μαὶ δὲ μὴ λίαν ἐγγὺς ἢ τοῦτ' ἤδη. ὅταν οὖν μηκέτι ὑμᾶς
ἀμελεῖν ἐξουσία γίγνηται τῶν συμβαινόντων, μηδ' ἀκούειν
ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔστιν ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ δέινος ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ
τες ὁράτε καὶ εὖ εἰδῆτε, ὀργίλους καὶ τραχεῖς ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι
νομίζω. φοβοῦμαι δὴ μὴ τῶν πρέσβεων σεσιωπηκότων, οἵ
οἱ αὐτοῖς συνίστασι δεδωροδοκηκότες, τοῖς ἐπανορθοῦν τι πρὸς
ρωμένοις τῶν διὰ τούτους ἀπολωλότων τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργῇ περὶ
πυρρῶν συμβῇ. ὁρῶ γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐνίοις οὐκ εἰς τὰς αἰτίας
αἰτίους, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα μάλιστα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιένται
ἕως οὖν ἔτι μέλλει καὶ συνίσταται τὰ πράγματα καὶ κατὰ
κούομεν ἀλλήλων, ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, καίπερ ἀκριβῶς εἰδόμενα, ὅμως
ἐπαναμνήσκει βούλομαι τίς ὁ Φωκέας πείσας ὑμᾶς καὶ Πύλους
προέσθαι, ὧν καταστὰς ἐκεῖνος κύριος τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν
ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος γέγονε, καὶ πεποιθὲς
ὑμῖν μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑξῶ πραγμάτων εἰ
τὴν βουλὴν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν
Ἀττικὴν πολέμου, ὅς λυπήσει μὲν ἕκαστον, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ
γέγονε δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρεκρούσθητε ἑα
ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τῇ πόλει πρᾶγμα· οὔτε γὰρ ναυσὶ δῆμιον
κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦλθεν ἂν ποτε στόλῳ Φιλίππου
οὔτε πεζῇ βαδίζων ὑπὲρ τὰς Πύλους καὶ Φωκέας, ἀλλ' ἡ
δικαίαν ἂν ἐποίει καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγων ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ἢ παρὰ
οὐ παρ' ἐν

αὐτὴν εἰρήνην εὐχόμενοι ἂν ἦν ἐν ὁμοίᾳ πολέμῳ δι' ὃν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμη-
 ητε. τί δὴ ταῦτα; ταῦτ' οὖν, ὥς μὲν ὑπομνήσαιο, νῦν ἰκανῶς εἴρηται, ὥς δ'
 νῦν τοὺς θεοὺς τάληξ ἐξετασθεὶ μάλιστ' ἀκριβῶς, μὴ γένοιτο, ᾧ πάντες θεοί·
 οὐκ ἀποκρίψομαι, ἀλλ' ἕνα γὰρ βουλομένην ἂν ἔγωγε, οὐδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολω-
 ἐξ ἴσου λόγον ποιεῖται, μετὰ τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ζημίας δίκην ὑπο-
 στήναι ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ νῦν.

παρὰ Φιλίππου, οὐ
 οὐδ' ὑμᾶς λυπήσει
 τὸ γὰρ πρᾶγμ' ὅτι
 ἀξίζει ὀρθῶς, φοβέ-
 ταν οὖν μηκέθ' ὑμῶν
 ὄντων, μηδ' ἀκού-
 ῖνος ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πα-
 ραχεῖς ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι
 ἐν σεσιωπηκότων, ἐ-

ς ἐπανορθοῦν τι πα-
 ρ' ὑμῶν ὀργῇ περὶ
 ἐνίου οὐκ εἰς τὸν
 ἡν ὀργὴν ἀφιένται
 ράγματα καὶ κατα-
 κριβῶς εἰδόμενα, ὅμο-

ας ὑμᾶς καὶ Πύρρον
 ἰς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν
 ἔγνε, καὶ πεποιθὲς
 ὡς πραγμάτων εἶναι
 καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν
 τον, ἐπειδὴν παρὰ
 ταρεκρούσθητε τὸν
 ε γὰρ ναυσὶ δὴ πλο-
 στόλῳ Φιλίππου ἰσχυ-
 Φωκέας, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ
 ἴαν εἶχε, ἢ παρὰ

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Γ.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

πλή τοῦ λόγου τούτου ἡ ὑπόθεσις. Φιλίππου γὰρ λόγῳ μὲν
 ἡν ἄγοντος, ἔργῳ δὲ πολλὰ ἀδικοῦντος, συμβουλεύει τοῖς Ἀθη-
 ἐνίου οὐκ εἰς τὸν ὀρθῶς ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τὸν βασιλέα, ὥς κινδύνου
 ἡν ὀργὴν ἀφιένται αὐτοῖς ἐπικρεμαμένου καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

Πολλῶν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγων γιγνομένων ὀλίγου δεῖν
 ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην
 ἡγήσατο, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας
 κεί, καὶ πάντων εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων γ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιοῦσι
 το, καὶ λέγειν δεῖν καὶ πράττειν ὅπως ἐκεῖνος παύσεσθαι
 ὕβρεως καὶ δίκην δώσει, εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγμένα πάντα τὰ
 ῥάγματα καὶ προειμένα ὀρῶ ὥστε δέδοικα μὴ βλάβος φημον
 εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δ' ἦ· εἰ καὶ λέγειν ἅπαντες ἐβούλοντο οἱ
 ῥιόντες καὶ χειροτονεῖν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ὧν ὡς φανυλότερ' ἐμελλε τὰ
 ῥάγμαθ' ἔξαι, οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι δύνασθαι χεῖρον ἢ νῦν διατε-
 ῖναι. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἐστὶν αἷτια τοῦ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν,
 οὐ παρ' ἐν οὐδὲ δύο εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματ' ἀφίεται, μάλιστα

δ', ἄνπερ ἐξετάζητε ὀρθῶς, εἰρήσετε διὰ τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μὲν κεκρά-
 λον ἢ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν προαιρουμένους, ὧν τινὲς μὲν πεισθ' ἵ-
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν οἷς εὐδοκιμοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ δύνανται, ταῖς Εἰ μὲν
 φυλάττοντες οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόνοιαν ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐμὲν
 οὐκ οὐκ οὐδ' ἡμᾶς οἶοντα δεῖν ἔχειν, ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις
 πράγμασιν ὄντας αἰτιώμενοι καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο παρὰ ταῦτα αὐτοὶ
 ποιοῦσιν ἢ ὅπως ἡ μὲν πόλις αὐτὴ παρ' αὐτῆς δίκην λήψεται ὥστε
 καὶ περὶ τοῦτ' ἔσται, Φιλίππῳ δ' ἐξέσται καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἕτερον ἢ
 τειν ὅ τι βούλεται. αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι συνήθειαι τῶν ἐν ταῖς πό-
 εἰσιν ὑμῖν, αἷται δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τιν οἱ πο-
 ἀξίω δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἂν τι τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρρησίας λέγειν πε-
 λέγω, μηδεμίαν μοι διὰ τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργὴν γενέσθαι ὥσπερ τις
 σκοπεῖτε γὰρ ὧδέ. ὑμεῖς τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ποιηκέναι
 οὕτω κοινὴν οἴεσθε δεῖν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὥστε καὶ διὰ τὴν
 τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῆς μεταδεδώκατε, καὶ πολλὸν ἄλλοτερον εἰ-
 ἂν τις οἰκέτας ἴδοι παρ' ἡμῶν μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας ὀργὴν ἄγε
 βούλονται λέγοντας ἢ πολιτας ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν ἄλλων πόλεωσι λέξωμαι, φη-
 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλευέειν παντάπασιν ἐξεληλάκατε. εἰθ' ἴσμεν καὶ
 συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν ὅλα ἐν ταῖς
 κολακεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι μὲν τὸ
 μασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἤδη κινδυνεύειν τὴν πόλιν
 εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν οὕτω διάκεισθε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. εἰ δὲ εἰρήνην ἄγε
 συμφέρει χωρὶς κολακείας ἐθέλησεν ἀκούειν, ἕτοιμος λέγειν, ἀλλ' οὐδέ τις ταῦτα
 καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάντῃ φαίλως τὰ πράγματα ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ προέβλεπεν ἄλλα λαβὼν
 ὅμως ἔστιν, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς τὰ δεόντα ποιεῖν βούλησθ' ἔτι παρ' ἡμῶν παρ' ἡμῶν
 ταῦτα ἐπαυροθώσασθαι. καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ δ' ἐστὶν
 μέλλω λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δὲ τὸ χερίστον ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθότοις ὧνεῖται,
 τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐπὶ ταῖς πόλεσι
 τοῦτο; ὅτι οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων ποιεῖται. Καὶ μὴν
 τῶν ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἃ παρ' ἡμῶν πολεμικῶν
 ἦκε πρᾶττόντων οὕτω δικάσαι, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι Ἀττικῶν
 βελτίω. νῦν δὲ τῆς μὲν ῥαθυμίας τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς

τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μάστιγας κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος, τῆς πόλεως δ' οὐ κεκράτηκεν. οὐδ' ἄλλους, ὧν τινὲς μὲν πατήρ τ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κεκίνησθε. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦμεν Φίλιππον τῇ πόλει πρῶτον πρόνοιαν ἔχοντα πολεμεῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην παραβαίνειν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔδει τὸν πόλεμον δεῖν εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ παρόντα λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν ἢ ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα καὶ ἁπλοῦς οὐδὲν ἄλλο αὐτὸν ἀμυνοίμεθα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὕτως ἀτύπως ἔνιοι διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς δίκην λήψονται ὥστε πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντος ἐκείνου καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πόλεων καὶ λέγειν καὶ πολεμεῖν ἔχοντος καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδικούντος ἀνέχεσθαι οὐκ ἐπιτρέψεται συνθήκῃς, μὴ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λεγόντων πολλάκις ὡς ἡμῶν τινὲς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνάγκη φυλάττεσθαι καὶ διορθῶν μετὰ παρήγγελλεσθαι περὶ τούτου. ἔστι γὰρ δέος μήποθ' ὡς ἀμυνοίμεθα ἡμῶν ὕργην γενέσθαι, ἀφ' ἧς τις καὶ συμβουλεύσας εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐμπέσῃ τοῦ πόλεμου. ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ποιεῖν τὸν πόλεμον. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον πάντων ἐν τῇ πόλει ὥστε ἐγὼ καὶ διορίζομαι, εἰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πόλεμου. ἐδόξατε, καὶ πολλὰ περὶ εἰρήνης ἄγειν ἢ πολεμεῖν δεῖ. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξεστιν ἐκείνους ἐξουσίας εἰρήνην ἄγειν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τούτο, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεμον ἔξωμαι, φημι ἔγωγε ἄγειν ἡμᾶς δεῖν, καὶ τὸν ταῖτα λέγοντα ἀπαλλάττετε. εἴθ' ἡμῶν ἀφαιρὲν καὶ πράττειν καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν ἀξίω. εἰ δ' ἕτερος τὰ ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾷ, ὅλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων καὶ δύναμιν πολλήν περὶ αὐτὸν τοῦ πόλεμου, ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ ἡμᾶς μὲν τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἡμῖν προβάλλει, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις αὐτὸς τοῖς πόλεμον ἡδὴ κινδυνεύειν οὗ πόλεμου χρήται, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν ἀμύνεσθαι; φάσκειν ἔγωγε τί λέγω. εἰ εἰρήνην ἄγειν, εἰ βούλεσθε, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, οὐ διαφέρομαι. εἰ πολεμεῖν, ἔτοιμος λέγω καὶ δέ τις ταύτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει, ἐξ ἧς ἐκεῖνος πάντα καὶ πολλὰ προέβλεπε, λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤξει, πρῶτον μὲν μαίνεται, ἔπειτα βούλησθ' ἔτι παρ' ἡμῶν, οὐχ ἡμῖν παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην λέγειν. ἐγὼ μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶν αὐτὸ δ' ἐστὶν ὃ τῶν ἀναλίσκομένων χρημάτων πάντων Φίλιππον τοῖς παρεληλυθότος ἀνέεται, αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμεῖν ἡμῖν, ὑφ' ἡμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν. τί οὖν ἐπιδοῦναι. Καὶ μὴν εἰ μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν, ὥς ἂν ἡμῖν ὁμολογήσῃ, εἰ πάνθ' ἃ παρ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν, πάντων ἐσμέν εὐθιθέστατοι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ τίς ἦν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι. Ἀττικὴν αὐτὴν βαδίξῃ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τοῦτ' ἔρει, εἴπερ ἐτέρας καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πεποίηκε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι. τούτο μὲν

γὰρ Ὀλυνθίοις τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στάδια εἴ-
 ὅτι δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἐκείνους ἐν Ὀλυνθῷ μὴ οἰκεῖν
 αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, εἰ τις αὐ-
 αἰτιάσαιτό τι τοιοῦτον, ἀγανακτῶν καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπων το-
 ἀπολογησομένους· τοῦτο δ' εἰς Φωκίας ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους
 ἐπορεύετο, καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκίων ἦσαν οἱ παρηκολούθουν αὐ-
 πορευομένῳ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἤριζον πολλοὶ Θηβαίοις οὐ λυ-
 τελήσειεν τὴν ἐκείνου ἀπόδοον. καὶ μὲν καὶ Φερὰς πρῶτον
 φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἔχει καταλαβὼν,
 τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς ταιλαιπύροις Ὠρεῖταις τουτοισὶ ἐπισκεψά-
 νους ἔφη τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπομφέναι κατ' εὐνοίαν· πε-
 θάνεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ
 συμμάχων δ' εἶναι καὶ φίλων ἀληθινῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις κα-
 ροῖς παρεῖναι. εἰτ' οἶεσθ' αὐτὸν, οἱ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν
 κακὸν, μὴ παθεῖν δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἂν ἴσως, τούτους μὲν ἐξαπα-
 αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' ἐκ προ-
 ῤῃσεως πολεμήσειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἕως ἂν ἐκόντες ἐξαπατασθῆ-
 οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἀβελτερώτατος εἴη πάντων ἀνθρώ-
 πων, εἰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὑμῶν μηδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντων αὐτῷ, ἀ-
 ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων, ἐκεῖνος ἐκλύσας τὴν πρὸς ἄλλ-
 λους ἔριν ὑμῶν καὶ φιλονεικίαν ἐφ' αὐτὸν προείποι τρέπεσθαι
 καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μισθοφορούντων τοὺς λόγους ἀφέλως
 οἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ὡς ἐκεῖνός γε οὐ πολε-
 τῇ πόλει.

Ἄλλ' ἔστιν, ὦ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς, ὅστις εὖ φρονῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς
 ὀνομάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην
 πολεμοῦνθ' ἑαυτῷ σκέψαιτ' ἄν; οὐδεὶς δῆπου. ὁ τοῖνυν Φίλα-
 ππος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἄρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας, οὐπω Διοσιπεί-
 στρατηγούντος οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερρόνησῳ νῦν ἀπεστα-
 μένων, Σέρρρειον καὶ Δορίσκον κατελάμβανε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σ-
 ρείου τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ ὄρους στρατιώτας ἐξέβαλλεν, οὐκ
 ὑμέτερος στρατηγὸς ἐγκατέστησεν. καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων ἐν κινδύνῳ

πόλεως στάδια εἰς τὴν πόλιν; εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὤμωμύκει. καὶ μηδεὶς εἴπῃ, τί δὲ
 Ολύνθῳ μὴ οἰκεῖν; ἢ τί τούτων μέλει τῇ πόλει; εἰ γὰρ μικρὰ ταῦτά
 χρόνον, εἴ τις αὐτὴν, ἢ μηδὲν ὑμῖν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν, ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος οὗτος.
 ῥέσβεις πέμπων τοῦτο εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μικροῦ τις ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μεί-
 ῶς πρὸς συμμάχου παραβαίνειν, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν. φέρε δὴ νῦν, ἥνικ' εἰς
 παρῃκολούθουν αὐτὸν ἤρρόνησον, ἣν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑμετέραν ἐγνώ-
 οὶ Θηβαίοις οὐ λυγρὰν εἶναι, ξένους εὐσπέμπει καὶ βοηθεῖν ὁμολογεῖ καὶ ἐπισ-
 καὶ Φερὰς πρώην λαβεῖν ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ; φησὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ
 ἔχει καταλαβὼν, οὗτου δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἐκείνον ὁμολογεῖν ἄγειν τὴν πρὸς
 τοιούτοις ἐπισκεψάμενος εἰρήνην, ὥστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ
 κατ' εὐνοίαν. παρὰ τὴν ἀνιδία κατασκευάζοιτα καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκῃ παριόντα καὶ
 ασιάζουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σκευωρούμενον καὶ πάνθ', ὅσα πράττει
 τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ τῇ δυνάμει, ποιοῦντα λύειν φημι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πολε-
 ῖσαν μὲν οὐδὲν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ἐφιστάντας εἰρήνην
 οὗτους μὲν ἐξαπατᾶν φήσετε, ὥς ἂν αὐτὰ τοῖς τέχεσιν ἤδη προσαγάγωσιν,
 θαι, ὑμῖν δ' ἐκ προῤῃ οὐ φήσετε. ὁ γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ἐπιτελέω, ταῦτα πράττων
 κόντες ἐξαπατᾶσθαι κατασκευαζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμὲ πολεμεῖ, κὰν μήπω βάλλῃ
 ἐτόξευῃ. τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς κινεῖσθαιτ' ἂν, εἴ τι γένοιτο; τῷ
 λούντων αὐτῷ, ὡς Ἕλλησποντον ὑμῶν ἀλλοτριωθῆναι, τῷ Μεγάρων καὶ τῇ
 ῖσας τὴν πρὸς Ἀλκίβοιας τὸν πολεμοῦνθ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι κύριον, τῷ Πελοπον-
 προεῖποι τρέπεσθαι τοῖς τάκεσιν φρονήσαι. εἰτα τὸν τοῦτο τὸ μηχανήμα ἐπὶ
 λόγους ἀφέλονται πόλιν ἰστάντα, τοῦτον εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐγὼ φῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
 ἴνός γε οὐ πολεμοῦν γε καὶ δέω, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνείλε Φωκίας, ἀπὸ
 τῆς ἐγωγ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν ὀρίζομαι. ὑμᾶς δὲ, ἔαν μὲν
 εὖ φρονῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης ᾗδῃ, σωφρονήσῃν φημι, ἔαν δ' ἐάσῃτε, οὐδὲ τοῦθ'
 ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην βούλησθε δυνήσεσθε ποιῆσαι. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε ἀφῆσ-
 ον. ὁ τοίνυν Φίλιππος τῶν ἄλλων, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν συμβουλευόντων
 οὕτω Διοσίθεος οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Χερρόνησον νῦν σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ Βυζαν-
 νήσῳ νῦν ἀπεστῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐπαμύνασθαι μὲν τοῖς, καὶ διατηρῆσαι μή τι πάθωσι,
 καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σπάρτης οὗσιν ἐκεῖ νῦν στρατιώταις πάνθ' ὅσων ἂν δέωνται
 ἐξέβαλλεν, οὐδὲ στείλει, βουλευέσθαι μέντοι περὶ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 ταῦτα πράττων ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ καθεστώτων. βούλομαι δ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς

ὑμᾶς ἐξ ὧν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω φοβοῦμαι, ἵν', εἰ μὴ ὁρθῶς λογίζωμαι, μετάσχητε τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ πρόνοιᾶν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἡμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρα βούλεσθε, ποιήσασθαι ἅπαντα ἐὰν δὲ ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι δοκῶ, μήτε νῦν μήτ' αὖτις ὑγιαίνοντί μοι προσέχητε.

Ὅτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀρχαίαν Φίλιππος ἡῤῥηται, καὶ ἀπίστως καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅτι πολλῷ παραδοξότερον ἦν τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι ἢ νῦν, ὅθ' οὕτω πολλὰ προείληφεν ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἂν ἔχοιμι διεξελεῖν, παραλείψω. ἀλλ' ὁρῶ συγκεχωρηκέναι ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἄρξαμένους, αὐτῷ, ὑπὲρ τῶν τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γεγονάσθαι καὶ οὐχὶ Ἑλληνικοί. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; τὸ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται, καὶ τετραρχεῖν καθ' ἓνα οὕτως περικύπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντα. καίτοι προστάται καὶ μὲν ἡμεῖς ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ τρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθαι ἡμῶν προστάται δὲ τριάκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἵσταντο δὲ τι καὶ Θηβαῖοι τουτουσὶ τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους γράφει μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐθ' ἡμῖν ἐλάττωσαν Θηβαίοις οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδεπώποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νῆαί, συνεχωρήθη τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποιεῖν ὅσα πρῶτον βούλοισθε, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἡμῖν, μάλιστα ἡμῶν δὲ τοῖς τότ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐπαινοῦν καὶ κουν προσφέρεσθαι, πάντες ᾤοντο δεῖν, καὶ οἱ μὴδὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλήλοις λείν ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς, μετὰ τῶν ἡδικομένων πολεμεῖν, καὶ διωρῶντι πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄρξασιν καὶ παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν οὐτὴν δυναστείαν ἡμῖν, ἐπειδὴ πλεονάζειν ἐπεχείρουν καὶ πλεονέμεθα, οὐδὲ τοῦ μετρίου τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐκίνουν, πάντες εἰς πόλεμον ἐμῶν ποιήσασθαι κατέστησαν, καὶ οἱ μὴδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς. καὶ τί οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν, τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅ τι ἡδικούμεθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων

περίοδος ἢ καταβολὴ πυρετοῦ ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς κακοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
πάντες πόρρω δοκοῦντι νῦν ἀφεστάναι προσέρχεται, οὐδὲν ὦν αἰ
ἀγνοεῖ δῆπου. καὶ μὴν κακεῖνό γε ἴστε, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ὑπὸ ἐστίν.
Λακεδαιμονίων, ἢ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔπασχον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰ
ὑπὸ γνησίῳ γ' ὄντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡδικοῦντο, καὶ τὸν αἰτεῖν; οὐ
τὸν τρόπον ἂν τις ὑπέλαβε τοῦθ', ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ υἱὸς ἀντιόχου
οὐσία πολλῇ γεγονώς γνήσιος διώκει τι μὴ καλῶς, μή τι ἄλλο, ἀλλ'
ὀρθῶς κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτο ἄξιον μέμψεως εἶναι καὶ κατηγορεῖν; ταῦτα
ρίας, ὥς δ' οὐ προσήκων ἢ ὥς οὐ κληρονόμος τούτων ἐπὶ μεθεῖκα
ταῦτα ἐποίει, οὐκ ἐνεῖναι λέγειν. εἰ δέ γε δοῦλος ἢ ὑποβοσκήλοισι, οὐ
μαῖος τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα ἀπώλλυε καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο, Ἡράκλειος ἄλλως οὐ
ὅσῃ μᾶλλον δεινὸν καὶ ὀργῆς ἄξιον πάντες ἂν ἔφασαν εἶναι τοῦτο κύριον
ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ ὦν ἐκεῖνος πράττει νῦν, οὐκ αἰ. τί οὖν αἰ
οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνας ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὔτε
κοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρων ἐντεῖθεν οἱ Ἕλλη
ῶθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνης, ὅθεν οὐκ ἄνδρες Ἀ
ἀνδράποδον σπονδαῖον οὐδὲν ἦν πρότερον πρίασθαι. ἔστιν, δ'

Καίτοι τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως ἀπολείπει; οὐκ ἔτι ἦγε
τῷ πόλει ἀνηρηκέναι τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια, τὸν κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως οὐδεμ
Ἕλλήνων ἀγῶνα, καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγασσάμενος καὶ ἀ
οβητήσοντες πέμπει; κύριος δὲ Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα. τί οὐ
Ἕλληνας παρόδων ἐστὶ, καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ ξένοις τοὺς τοῖς πα
πους τούτους κατέχει; ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν προμαντείαν τῆς Ἑλλάδα
θεοῦ, παρώσας ἡμᾶς καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς
ἄλλους Ἀμφικτύονας, ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἅπασιν μέτεστι τῆς πόλεως
γράφει δὲ Θετταλοῖς ὃν χρὴ τρόπον πολιτεῦσθαι; πέμπει γινώμη.
δὲ ξένους τοὺς μὲν εἰς Πορθμὸν, τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλόντες τύχη καὶ
τὸν Ἐρετριέων, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν, τύραννον Φιλιστιῶν μηδὲν ἐ
καταστήσαντας; ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῦθ' ὀρώντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπαττόντων π
χονται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τὴν χάλαζαν ἔμελλεν λεγόντων
δοκοῦσι θεωρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὲν μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστος ὁμόνο
γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐφ' ὁρβάρους αἰ

τινὸς κακοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑβρίζεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς ἀμύνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' προσέρχεται, οὐδέ ποτε ὡς αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἀδικεῖται· τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς χα-
 ρε, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ὑπὸ ἐστίν. οὐ Κορινθίων ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ Λευ-
 "Ελληνες, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν Ναύπακτον ὁμόμοκεν Αἰτωλοῖς παρα-
 κούντο, καὶ τὸν ἀπείν; οὐχὶ Θηβαίων Ἐχίνον ἀφήρηται; καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ
 περ ἂν εἰ υἱὸς ἀντίους πορεύεται συμμάχους ὄντας; οὐχ ἡμῶν, ἐὼ
 τι μὴ καλῶς, μήτε ἄλλα, ἀλλὰ Χερρόνήσου τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει πόλιν Καρ-
 ρε εἶναι καὶ κατηγν; ταῦτα τοίνυν πάσχοντες ἅπαντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλα-
 ρονόμος τούτων ὁρμήθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον βλέπομεν, ἀπιστοῦντες
 εἰ δοῦλος ἢ ὑποβόλος ἡμῶν, οὐ τῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικοῦντι. καίτοι τὸν ἅπασιν
 λυμαίνεται, Ἡράκλειον ὡς οὕτω χρώμενον τί οἴεσθε, ἐπειδὴν καθ' ἓνα ἡμῶν
 εἰς ἂν ἔφασαν εἶναι τοῦ κύριος γέννηται, τί ποιήσῃν;
 εἰς πράττει νῦν, οὐ τί οὖν αἴτιον τούτων; οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας
 ὄντος οὐδὲ προστάτας οὔτε τότ' οὕτως εἶχον ἐτοιμῶς πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν ἅπαν-
 βαρβάρων ἐντεῦθεν οἱ Ἕλληνες οὔτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεῦν. ἦν τι τότ', ἦν,
 κεδόνος, ὅθεν οὐκ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοαίαις, ὃ νῦν
 πρίασθαι. ἔστιν, ὃ καὶ τοῦ Περσῶν ἐκράτησε πλούτου καὶ ἐλευ-
 τολεῖται; οὐ πρὶν ἢ γε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ οὔτε ναυμαχίας οὔτε πεζῆς
 θια, τὸν κοινὸν τοῦ ἔθους οὐδεμιᾶς ἡττάτο, νῦν δ' ἀπολωλὸς ἅπαντα λελύ-
 τοὺς δούλους ἀγνοῦνται καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποιήκε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγ-
 καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα. τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; οὐδὲν ποικίλον οὐδὲ σοφόν, ἀλλ'
 καὶ ξένοις τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄρχων αἰεὶ βουλομένων ἢ διαφθείρειν
 ἢ προμαντεῖαν τῆς Ἑλλάδα χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν, καὶ
 Δωριέας καὶ τὰς ἀπώτατον ἦν τὸ δωροδοκοῦντα ἐξελεγχθῆναι, καὶ τιμωρίαν
 τῶν ἅπασιν μέτεσθαι τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦτον ἐκόλαζον, καὶ παραίτησις οὐδεμία ἦν οὐδὲ
 αἰτεῦσθαι; πέμψαντες τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἐκάστου τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃν
 ἡμῶν ἐκβαλοῦν τὴν τύχην καὶ τοῖς ἀμελοῦσι κατὰ τῶν προσεχόντων καὶ
 ἡμεῖς Φιλιππῶν μὴδὲν ἐθέλουσι ποιεῖν κατὰ τῶν πάντα ἃ προσήκει
 οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπαρτίζοντων πολλάκις παρασκευάζει, οὐκ ἦν πρίασθαι παρὰ
 ἡμᾶς χάλαζαν ἔμμενον λεγόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατηγούντων, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλ-
 ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστος ὁμόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς
 οὐ μόνον δ' ἐφ' ὧν βαρβάρους ἀπιστίαν, οὐδ' ὅλως τοιούτων οὐδέν. νῦν δ'

ἀπανθ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα, ἀντεισηγὰρ τὰ
 δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ὑφ' ὧν ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσθηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἄλλεν;
 ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τί; ζήλος, εἴ τις εἰληφέ τι· γέλως, ἵπταται ν
 ὁμολογῇ· συγγνώμη τοῖς ἐλεγχομένοις· μῖσος, ἀν ται, ἀλλ
 τοῖς τις ἐπιτιμῇ· τᾶλλα πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκισμοῦ ἐκθνάτω.
 ἤρτηται. ἐπεὶ τριήρεις γε καὶ σωμαίων πλήθος καὶ χροκτείναν
 μάτων πρόσοδοι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, ἡ Ἑλλάς
 τᾶλλα οἷς ἂν τις ἰσχύειν τὰς πόλεις κρίνοι, νῦν ἀποστὰς αὐτοῖς
 καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω ἐστὶ τῶν τότε πολλῶ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα φθείρει,
 πάντα ἄχρηστα, ἀπρακτα, ἀνόνητα ὑπὸ τῶν πωλούντων πωρουόντων
 νεται.

“Οτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, τὰ μὲν νῦν ὁρᾶτε δήπου, οὐ φοβε
 οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀνέγκαι γὰρ οὐτ
 χρόνοις ὅτι τάναντία εἶχεν ἐγὼ δηλώσω, οὐ λόγους ἐλά, ἀλλ
 τοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν προγόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων κατηγ
 δεικνύνων, ἃ 'κεῖνοι κατέθεντο εἰς στήλην χαλκῇν γράψαντες οἱ
 εἰς ἀκρόπολιν, οὐχ ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἢ χρήσιμα (καὶ γὰρ πολλῆς
 τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ δέοντα ἐφρόνουν), ἀλλ' ἵνα προσδεῖσθαι
 ἔχητε ὑπομνήματα καὶ παραδείγματα ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν τῶν
 τῶν σπουδάζειν προσήκει. τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα [ΕΚ Τ
 “Ἀρθμιος,” φησὶ, “ὁ Πυθώνακτος Ζελεΐτης ἀτιμος ἐστὶν. Ἔστι το
 “καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, βουλομ
 “αὐτὸς καὶ γένος.” εἴθ' ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται, δι' ἣν τούτος οἷο
 ἐγένετο· ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ γ
 ἤγαγεν. ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ γράμματα. λογίζεσθε δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδ
 καὶ θεωρεῖτε παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τίς ἦν ποθ' ἢ διάνοια οὐκ ἀνηρ
 τότε Ἀθηναίων τῶν ταῦτα ποιούντων, ἢ τί τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἐν εἰληφότη
 νοι Ζελεΐτην τινὸς Ἀρθμιον δοῦλον βασιλέως (ἢ γὰρ Ζελεῖς πρότερον
 ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίας), ὅτι τῷ δεσπότη διακονῶν χρυσίον ἤρπαισθαι κ
 γεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐκ Ἀθήναζε, ἐχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀπομονοῦς το
 γραψαν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ ἀτίμητον, τὴν
 τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐχ ἣν οὕτωςί τις ἂν φήσειεν ἀτιμῶν τῶν ἀν-

ταῦτα, ἀντειστήτω γὰρ τῷ Ζελεΐτῃ, τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν εἰ μὴ μεθέξῃ
 νένοσηκεν ἢ Ἑλλήνων; ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο λέγει, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέ-
 ληφέ τι· γέλως, καταπίπτει νόμοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν μὴ διδῷ δίκας. φόνου δικάσα-
 τοις· μῖσος, ἀντίποινα, ἀλλ' εὐαγὲς ἢ τὸ ἀποκτείναι, "καὶ ἀτιμος," φησὶ,
 ἀ ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν θανάτῳ." τοῦτο δὴ λέγει, καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τινὰ
 πλῆθος καὶ ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι. οὐκοῦν ἐνόμιζον ἐκείνοι τῆς πάντων
 ἀσκευῆς ἀφθονία, τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ
 κρίνοι, νῦν ἀπὸ αὐτοῖς ἔμελεν εἴ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὠνεῖται καὶ
 πολλῷ. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀποκτείνει, μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν· ἐκόλαζον δ' οὕτω καὶ
 τῶν πωλούντων μωροῦντο οὓς αἰσθοντο δωροδοκοῦντας ὥστε καὶ στηλίτας
 εἶναι. ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦν τῷ βαρ-
 βάρῳ φοβερὰ οὐχ ὁ βάρβαρος τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν·
 ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἀντιπολέμοις οὕτως ἔχεθ' ὑμεῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε πρὸς
 ἄλλους, οὐ λόγους ἐλάττω, ἀλλὰ πῶς; ἵστε αὐτοί· τί γὰρ δεῖ περὶ πάντων
 ἡμετέρων κατηγορεῖν; παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν βέλτιον ὑμῶν
 ἡν χαλκῇν γράψαντες οἱ λοιποὶ Ἕλληνες. διόπερ φημὶ ἔγωγε καὶ σπου-
 δαίσιμα (καὶ γὰρ ἐν πολλῇ καὶ βουλῇ ἀγαθῇ τὰ παρόντα πράγματα
 γίνονται), ἀλλ' ἵνα ὑμεῖς ἀποδείξῃτε. τίνας εἴπω; κελεύετε καὶ οὐκ ὀργεῖσθε;

[ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΕΙ.]

Ἔστι τοίνυν τις εὐήθης λόγος παρὰ τῶν παραμυθεύ-
 οντων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄρα οὕτω Φίλιππος ἔστι
 ἡγεμὼν, οὗτος οἰοί ποτ' ἦσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἱ θαλάττης μὲν
 ἡγεμονοῦντες καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης, βασιλεῖα δὲ σύμμαχον εἶχον, ὑφέ-
 ζεσθε δὴ πρὸς τὸ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν αὐτούς· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡμύνετο καὶ κείνους ἡ πόλις
 ποτ' ἢ διάνοια οὐκ ἀνηγάσθη. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πολ-
 τί τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἐν εἰληφότων ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμοίων ὄντων τῶν νῦν
 πόλεως (ἡ γὰρ Ζελεΐς πρότερον, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι πλέον ἢ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου
 κοινῶν χρυσίον ἡμῶν εἶναι καὶ ἐπιδεδωκέναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκούω Λακε-
 δαιμονίων αὐτῶν ἀπομνησκόμενους τότε καὶ πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας τέτταρας μῆνας
 γένος, καὶ ἀτίμους πάντες, τὴν ὥραίαν αὐτὴν, ἐμβalonτάς ἂν καὶ κακώσαντας
 φήσειεν ἀτιμῶν τῶν ἀντιπάλων χώραν ὑπλήτταις καὶ πολιτικούς στρα-

τεύμασιν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἶκον πάλιν· οὕτω δ' ἄρχοι, ἡστ
εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτικῶς, ὥστ' οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι οὐδ' ἂν
ἰαροῦ οὐδενὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἶναι νόμιμόν τινα καὶ προφύλακτον καὶ γε
τὸν πόλεμον. νυνὶ δ' ὁράτε μὲν δήπου τὰ πλείεστα τῶν πόλεων, καί τις
προδότας ἀπολωλεκότας, οὐδέν δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης πολέμου
γιγνόμενον· ἀκούετε δὲ Φίλιππον οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγα ὀπίσθουσι·
τῶν ἄγειν βραδίζονθ' ὅποι βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλοῦς, τῶν το
πέας, τοξότας, ξένους, τοιοῦτον ἐξηρτῆσθαι στρατόπεδον, οἷον εἴσε
ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς προσπαθεῖν ἦσαν
καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐξέρη, μηχανήματα ἵππων κ
ἐπιστήσας πολιορκεῖ. καὶ σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, τῶν καὶ
οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετος ὥρα τις ἣν διαλείπειν ἐροῖ δὴ
ταῦτα μέντοι πάντας εἰδότας καὶ λογιζόμενους οὐ δεῖ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ
ἐσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν εὐήθειαν τῶν φρονοῦ
τοῦ τότε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου βλέποντας ἐκτραπέντας συκο
λισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐκ πλείεσθου φυλάττεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι, Ἀπολλων
καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ὅπως οἴκοθεν μὴ κινήσεται σκοποῦντος ἵσθη.
οὐχὶ συμπλακέντας διαγωνίζεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον οὐ τοίνυν
πολλὰ φύσει πλεονεκτήμαθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει, ἂν περ, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸν εἰργάσ
'Αθηναῖοι, ποιεῖν ἐθέλωμεν ἂν δεῖ, ἢ φύσις τῆς ἐκείνου χώρας, δὴ ἀπαλλ
ῆς ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἔστι πολλὴν καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, αὐτὴν τὴν πόλ
μυρία· εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνος ἦσκηται.

Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γινώσκειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
ἐκεῖνον ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ, τριεὶς τελευ
καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας μισήσαντας ἐκβάλλει
ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὐκ ἔνεστι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸν φίλος αὐ
κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν αὐτὸς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσῃτε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
τοῦντας ἐκείνους. ὁ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς τῶν παρ' αὐ
δυνήσεσθε ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι, οὐδὲ βούλεσθε ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς
ἀφίχθε μωρίας ἢ παρανοίας ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω (πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐπέμψας
γὰρ ἔμοιγ' ἐπελήλυθε καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι, μὴ τι δαιμόνιον ἢ Παρμενί
τὰ πράγματα ἐλαύνῃ), ὥστε λοιδορίας ἢ φθόνου ἢ σκῆψιν. Καὶ τί δεῖ

οὕτω δ' ἄρχονται, ἥστινος ἂν τύχητε ἔνεκ' αἰτίας ἀνθρώπων μισθωτοὺς, καὶ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι οὐδ' ἂν ἀρνηθεῖν ἐνιοι ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, λέγειν κελεύειν τινὰ καὶ προφασίζεσθαι καὶ γελάτε, ἂν τισι λαιδορηθῶσιν. καὶ οὐχὶ πῶ τοῦτο ἵππου τὰ πλείεστα τῶν ὀν, καίπερ ὃν δεινόν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφα-
ρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάλα πολιτενεύσθαι δεδώκατε τοῖς ἡ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
τῷ φάλαγγα ὁπλοῦσιν· καίτοι θεάσασθε ὅσας συμφορὰς παρασκευάζει
ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλούς, τῶν τοιούτων ἐθέλειν ἀκροῶσθαι. λέξω δ' ἔργα ἃ
τῆσθαι στρατόπεδοις εἴσεσθε.

Ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τινὲς μὲν
ἐξή, μηχανήματα ἵππου καὶ πάνθ' ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐκείνῳ, τινὲς δὲ τοῦ βελ-
αν καὶ χειμῶνα, τοῦ καὶ ὅπως μὴ δουλεύουσιν οἱ πολῖται πράττοντες.
ἄρα τις ἦν διαλείπειν οἱ δὴ τὴν πατρίδ' ἐξώλεσαν; ἢ πότεροι τοὺς ἱππέας
οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει οὐδὲσαν ὧν προδοθέντων Ὀλυνθος ἀπώλετο; οἱ τὰ Φιλίπ-
εἰς τὴν εὐήθειαν φρονούντες καὶ ὅτ' ἦν ἡ πόλις τοὺς τὰ βέλτεστα λέ-
βλέποντας ἐκτραπέντας συκοφαντοῦντες καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὕτως ὥστε τὸν
εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασι Ἀπολλωνίδην καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων
κινήσεται σκοποῦν ἵσθη.

Ὅς μὲν γὰρ πόλις Οὐ τοίνυν παρὰ τοῖς μόνοις τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο πάντα
εἶ, ἂν περ, ὧ ἀνὰ τὰ εἰργάσατο, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐδαμοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ,
τῆς ἐκείνου χώρας, καὶ τῶν ξένων ὁ δῆμος
κακῶς ποιεῖν, αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Πορθμόν, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦγον τὰ
νοσ ἥσκηται.

οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ ταλαίπωροι καὶ δυστυχεῖς
καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρεῖς κατέστησε τυράννους,
ὁ λέγοντας μισθῶν ἐκβάλλειν. καὶ γάρ τοι πέμψας Ἰππὸνικον ὁ σύμμαχος
τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸς φίλος αὐτοῖς Φίλιππος καὶ ξένους χιλίους, τὰ τεῖχη
καὶ κολάσῃτε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πορθμοῦ καὶ τρεῖς κατέστησε τυράννους,
ὡς ἄλλους θεοὺς ἀπαρχὸν, Αὐτομέδοντα, Κλείταρχον· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐξέλη-
θε ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἐκ τῆς χώρας δις ἤδη βουλομένους σῶζεσθαι, τότε
τί λέγω (πολλὰ πέμψας τοὺς μετ' Εὐρυλόχου ξένους, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς
καὶ Παρμενίωνος.

Καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἄλλ' ἐν Ὁρεῶ Φιλιστίδης

μὲν ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μένιππῳ καὶ Σωκράτῃ καὶ ἑτέροις οὖσι
καὶ Ἀγαπαῖος, οἵπερ νῦν ἔχουσι τὴν πόλιν (καὶ τὰς αἰν. τὰ
ἡδεσαν ἅπαντες), Εὐφραῖος δέ τις, ἄνθρωπος καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν
ποτ' ἐνθάδ' οἰκήσας, ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δοῦν φέρειν
ἔσονται. οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς ὑβρίζετο καὶ προὔπλεε μὴ πισ-
ζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ τῶν Ὀρειτῶν, πόλλ' ἂν εἴη λέγειν ὅτι
ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐνέδειξεν ὡς προδοῦναι οἱ
τὸν Φιλιστίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, αἰσθόμενος ἅπαντες οὐκ
οὐσίαν. συστραφέντες δ' ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγῶν δ' ἀ-
ἔχοντες Φιλίππον καὶ πρυτανευόμενοι παρ' ἐκείνου, ἀπάγαγον οὕτως
τὸν Εὐφραῖον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὡς συνταράττοντα τὴν πόλιν.
πόλιν. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀρειτῶν, ἀντὶ τούτου ὁ νῦν
τῷ μὲν βοηθεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἀποτυμπανίσαι, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ
ζετο, τὸν δ' ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι ταῦτα παθεῖν ἔφη καὶ ἐπέτατο μὴ γ-
ρεν. μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ὁπόσης ἡβούλετο τῷ τεθνή-
ἔπραττον ὅπως ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, καὶ κατεσκευάζοντο Φιλίππῳ
τὴν πρᾶξιν· τῶν δὲ πολλῶν εἴ τις αἰσθοῖτο, ἐσίγαζον ἡν γ' οἱ
κατεπέπληκτο, τὸν Εὐφραῖον οἷα ἔπαθε μεμνημένοι. οὗτος Φιλίππῳ
δ' ἀθλίως διέκειντο ὥστε οὐ πρότερον ἐτόλμησεν οἷον· καλῶς
τοιούτου κακοῦ προσιώντος ῥῆξαι φωνὴν, πρὶν διασκεπτεῖν πρ-
σάμενοι πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσήεσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· τῇ καὶ ἀλευροῦσι γ-
δ' οἱ μὲν ἡμύνοντο, οἱ δὲ προὔδιδον. τῆς πόλεως συνθίων ἐφ-
οὔτως ἀλούσεως αἰσχροῦ καὶ κακῶς οἱ μὲν ἄρχουσι τῶν πρᾶντων,
τυραννοῦσι, τοὺς τότε σώζοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν Εὐφραῖον εἰς τὰ τ-
ετοίμους ὅτιον ποιεῖν ὄντας τοὺς μὲν ἐκβαλόντες, τῶν δὲ ὄντων πρ-
δ' ἀποκτείναντες, ὁ δ' Εὐφραῖος ἐκείνος ἐπέσφαξεν ἐαυτῶν λεγόν-
ἔργῳ μαρτυρήσας ὅτι δικαίως καὶ καθαρῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν παλαιῶν τὸ μέ-
τῶν ἀνθιστήκει Φιλίππῳ.

Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, θαυμάζετε ἴσως, τὸ καὶ τοὺς Ὀρειτῶν μόνους τυ-
θίους καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ὀρεῖτας ἡδὲ τὸν Περσὶν Δία, ἔδει-
τοὺς ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου λέγοντας ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. πόλλ' ἔστι
ὅπερ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου, οὐκ ἀ-

αὐτὸν Σωκράτης καὶ ἄλλοι οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἔνεστιν ἐνίοτε πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲν
 ἢν πόλιν (καὶ τὰ γὰρ πράγματ' ἀνάγκη σκοπεῖν ὅπως σωθήσεται·
 ἄνθρωπος καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαρίζονται Φιλίππῳ συμπράττουσιν.
 καὶ μηδενὸς δοῦν φέρειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν δεῖν ἔφασαν· πολεμεῖν
 ζετο καὶ προὔπληκται μὴ πιστεύειν, οἱ δ' ἄγειν εἰρήνην, ἕως ἐγκατελήφθησαν.
 πόλλ' ἂν εἴη λέγειν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οἶμαι πάνθ', ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστα
 ἐδείξεν ὡς προδοῦναι· οἱ μὲν ἐφ' οἷς ἤδη χαριῶνται, ταῦτ' ἔλεγον καὶ
 αἰσθόμενοι ἂν προδοῦναι οὐδὲν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον σωθήσεσθαι, προσ-
 πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγοὶ δ' ἀπέχθεται. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα οὐχ
 ἀρ' ἐκείνου, ἀπάγεται οὔτε πρὸς χάριν οὔτε δι' ἄγνοιαν οἱ πολλοὶ προίεντο,
 οὐκ οὐκ συνταράττονται· ὑποκατακλινόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ὅλοις ἡττᾶσθαι ἐνο-
 ῖον· Ὡρειτῶν, ἀντίστοιχον· ὁ γὰρ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω δέδοικ' ἐγὼ μὴ
 ἔγωγε, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ὡς ἡμῖν, ἐπειδὴν εἰδῆτε ἐκ λογισμοῦ μηδὲν ὑμῖν ἐνόν.
 θεῖν ἔφη καὶ ἐπέτατο μὴ γάνοιτο, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ πράγματ' ἐν
 οὐρανῷ ὁπόσῃς ἡβούλωται· τεθνάναι γὰρ μυριάκις κρείττον ἢ κολακεία τι ποιῆ-
 σαι καὶ κατεσκευάζειν· Φιλίππῳ καὶ προέσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λεγόντων τινάς.
 αἰσθοῖτο, ἐσέγαγον γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν ἀπειλήφασιν Ὡρειτῶν χάριν, ὅτι
 ἐμνησμένοι. οἱ δὲ Φιλίππου φίλοις ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτοὺς, τὸν δ' Εὐφραῖον
 ἐτόλμησεν οὐκ εἶναι· καλὴν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρετριέων, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν
 ἡμῶν, πρὶν διασκεπτόμενους πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε, Κλειτάρχῳ δ' ἐνέδωκεν αὐτόν·
 πολέμιοι· τηλικαύτως αὐτοὺς γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι. καλῶς
 γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἀνθρώπων ἐφείσατο τῶν τὸν μὲν Λασθένη ἵππαρχον χειρο-
 νί μὲν ἄρχουσι τῶν ἡσάντων, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλωνίδην ἐκβαλόντων. μυρία καὶ
 καὶ τὸν Εὐφραῖον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλπίζειν, καὶ κακῶς βουλευομένους καὶ
 ἐκβαλόντες, τὸν δὲ ὧν προσήκει ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν
 ἐπέσφαζεν ἀντιπάλων λεγόντων ἀκρωμένους, τηλικαύτην ἡγεῖσθαι πόλιν
 ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν παλαιῶν τὸ μέγεθος ὥστε μηδὲν, μηδ' ἂν ὀτιοῦν ἢ, δεῖνόν
 εἶναι. καὶ μὴν κακείνῳ γε αἰσχρὸν, ὕστερόν ποτ' εἰπεῖν
 τὸ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλύμπιον τινός "τίς γὰρ ἂν ᾤκηται ταῦτα γενέσθαι; νῆ
 πρεῖτας ἡδίων πρὸς Δία, εἶδει γὰρ τὸ καὶ το ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆ-
 τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν." πόλλ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιεν Ὀλύμπιοι νῦν, ἂν τότε εἰ προεί-
 περ τοῦ βελτίω γινώσκοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἀπώλοντο· πόλλ' ἂν Ὡρεῖται, πολλὰ Φωκείας,

πολλὰ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἕκαστοι. ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφε-
αὐτοῖς; ἕως ἂν σώζηται τὸ σκάφος, ἂν τε μείζον ἂν τ' ἔλαττον
τον ἦ, τότε χρή καὶ ναύτην καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ πάντ' ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἐξῆς προθύμους εἶναι, καὶ ὅπως μήθ' ἐκὼν μήτ' ἄκων μηδὲν
ἀνατρέψει, τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ θάλαττα ὑπὸ
σχῆ, μάταιος ἡ σπουδή. καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῖνον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
ναῖοι, ἕως ἐσμέν σῶοι, πόλιν μεγίστην ἔχοντες, ἀφορμὴν
πλείστας, ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον, — τί ποιῶμεν; πάλαι τις ἡγορεῖται
ἂν ἴσως ἐρωτήσας κάθηται. ἐγὼ νῆ Δι' ἐρῶ, καὶ γράμματα
δὲ, ὥστ' ἐὰν βούλησθε, χειροτονήσετε. αὐτοὶ πρῶτον ἀπὸ
νόμοι καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι, τριήρεσι καὶ χρήμασι πλοίων καὶ
στρατιώταις λέγω. καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἅπαντες δήπου δουλεύοντες καθύπερθε
συγχωρήσωσιν οἱ ἄλλοι, ἡμῖν γ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀποδόντων μὲν
νιστέον. ταῦτα δὴ πάντ' αὐτοὶ παρασκευασάμενοι καὶ πλοῖα καὶ
σαντες τοῖς Ἑλλήσι φανερὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἤδη παρακαλῶμεθα.
καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα διδάζοντας ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσβεις πανταχόθεν. Ἐγὼ μὲν
εἰς Πελοπόννησον, εἰς Ῥόδον, εἰς Χίον, ὡς βασιλέα λέγουσιν ἔτι ἐκείνῳ.
(οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμφερόντων ἀφέστηκε τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἑλλήσι
εἶναι πάντα καταστρέφασθαι), ἵν' ἐὰν μὲν πείσητε, κοινὴν ὀλεῖτω.
νοὺς ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, ἀνενέγκοι.
δέη, εἰ δὲ μὴ, χρόνους γε ἐμπούητε τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἐπεὶ
γὰρ ἔστι πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ οὐχὶ συνεστώσης πόλεως ἰσχυρὸς
ὁ πόλεμος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον, οὐδ' αἱ πέρυσιν περὶ
βείαι αἱ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκείναι καὶ κατηγορίαι,
ἐγὼ καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκεινοσὶ καὶ Ἡγήσιππος
καὶ Κλειτόμαχος καὶ Λυκοῦργος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις
περιήλθομεν, καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν ἐπισχεῖν ἐκείνον καὶ μὴτ' ἐκείνους
Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλθεῖν μήτ' εἰς Πελοπόννησον ὀρμήσαι. καὶ
μέντοι λέγω μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον ἐθέλοντες
ποιεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν. καὶ γὰρ εὐθες τὰ οἴκαθεν
αὐτοὺς προῖεμένους τῶν ἀλλοτρίων φάσκειν κήδεσθαι
καὶ τὰ παρόντα περιορῶντας ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων τοῦ

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

FIRST PHILIPPIC.

It is impossible to understand the Philippic orations of Demosthenes, unless we have some general idea of the events of Grecian and Macedonian history during the period of which they treat. In order to gain this more easily, a slight glance at the state of affairs in the several Greek states at the accession of Philip will be necessary. And it may be remarked, to commence with, that no single Grecian State was able to cope with Philip at the date of the first Philippic, and a union among them for this purpose was almost impossible. At the accession of Philip, then, Sparta was suffering from her defeats by the Thebans under Epaminondas. The Arcadian confederacy had been established on her northern frontier. Messene on the northwest, and Tegea and Argos were now her invincible enemies. These various states aimed at nothing else than to keep down the Spartan power, and ultimately preferred the dominion of the Macedonian to subsalage under a hated rival. Thebes had as allies and confederates all the Peloponnesian States opposed to Sparta, and in addition, the Phocians, Locrians, Thessalians, Arcarnanians, and Eubœa, together with ()ous

wrested six years before from Athens. Her ascendancy over the Bœotian towns was complete, and there was her weakness. The Grecian idea of the various States was that they were autonomous cities equally independent, and only united by the common tie of a Hellenic ancestry. While therefore all beheld with joy the emancipation of the Peloponnesus from the power of Sparta, Thebes was regarded with aversion for its action towards Platæa, Thespiæ, and Orchomenos, remarkable alike for its antiquity and religious observances.

Athens alone had the power at this time to avert from Greece her impending doom. She stood, since the battle of Naxos, B.C. 376, at the head of a vast maritime confederacy; her general Timotheus had acquired for her Pydna, Potidæa, and Methone on the Macedonian coast. She had also colonized the Thracian Chersonese and vindicated her power over Cotys the king of that country. Funds poured into her treasury from the insular allies, and her power was respected through all the Ægean. But she had imbibed, in common with the rest of Greece, the pernicious idea that the defence of the country could be entrusted to mercenaries, and her power was thus every day becoming weaker, her allies more and more estranged, and her citizens, fiery politicians in the general assembly, were quiet enough at their homes, when they reasoned on the money side of the question, and compared domestic comforts with the hardships of war. The Athenians of B.C. 432, was well assured that the glorious benefits of his freedom could only be retained by his own individual exertions, he was silent in the Pnyx, but

ns. Her ascendancy was complete, and therefore the various States of Greece were equally independent on the tie of a Hellenic bond. She held with joy the power from the power of her aversion for the Orchomenos, and religious observance in the field. He knew that perhaps on his single depended the freedom of his city, hallowed to him the recollections of his kindred and his gods, (THUC. 40, 41). But now all was changed. The Athenian wrangled and appealed to the dicasts. He fought battles with his money, but lavished it more freely in the worship of his gods. Scrupulous to observe even the smallest duties of religion, he allowed the weightier concerns of the glory of his country to be cared for by rangers who fought for their daily pay. Unlike his ancestor, who might claim with the Spartan, that poverty had been the inmate of Greece and a guarantee of Grecian courage, (HER. VII. 102.), he now rolled in riches, one half of which was spent in pleasure, and the other squandered in the pay of mercenary vagabonds. Such were the States which were soon to see themselves pitted against a young man trained in the lap of Grecian politics in his youth, and anxious to emulate the glory of his great prototype, Epaminondas. On the one side was plenty, forces trained to war, yet lacking the energy to fight, vast maritime power, and money pouring into their coffers from numberless dependencies. On the other side, poverty and undisciplined hordes, clad in skins of beasts, but inured to fight from infancy, and accustomed to all manner of fatigue. No ports, no sea coast, no allies, no money in the treasury; and yet we shall find in a few years that every one of these things were in abundance, wrested from the very hands of those who were too negligent to take even common precautions for their preservation. Philip ascended the throne of Macedon in the Archaic age of Callimedes, B.C. 360-359, and immediately

came in contact with Athens, from her support of Argæus, one of the pretenders to the crown. As he knew that Athens only wanted Amphipolis, he promised to give it up to them, and this secured their defection from Argæus, who was soon afterwards defeated by Philip whilst making an attack upon Edessa, (DION. XVI. 31.). At the same time he sent letters to Athens asking for an alliance on the same terms as his father had received, (DEM. *contra* ARISTOC. 660). He had an opportunity to establish himself firmly on the throne without further interference from Athens, and he made good use of the time against the Illyrians, and other neighbours inland. As soon as these had been disposed of he attacked Amphipolis, notwithstanding promises to Athens; and when remonstrated with assured them that he was only attacking the city to deliver it to them when captured. The city fell, and he forgot his promises, B.C. 358. It may be wondered why Athens did not seize the city when offered to her a year before, but at that time she was about commencing the Social War, and may not have been able to spare forces sufficient to occupy the place. He knew too well the value of the city as opening up the district east of the Strymon to give it up, and it continued to be his greatest prize for the remainder of his reign. Olynthus now became alarmed for the safety of her possessions, and sent an offer of peace to Athens, which was rejected through Philip's representations, and at the same time he hinted that Pydna of right was his. A secret understanding appears to have been come to for an interchange of Pydna for Amphipolis, (DEM. OL. ii. p. 19.), which came to nothing. Philip now made an alliance with

in her support of the Athenians, angry at the Athenian refusal, and ceded to the crown. As he was at Amphipolis, and the Athenian town of Potidæa, (PHIL. ii. p. 71). How or when this town and Pydna were lost to Athens we do not know precisely, except that it was during the continuance of the Social War, and previous to the year B.C. 355, (DEM. *adv. LEPT.* 475). We know is that aid was voted by Athens, but arrived too late, (PHIL. i. p. 50,) and that the siege of Potidæa was both long and costly. (DEM. *contra ARIST.* 656). After thus consolidating his power in the neighborhood of Olynthus, he set out again for the Strymon, and founded Philippi on the site of the Thasian town Krenides, and thus opened up for his use the gold mines of Pangæus, which yielded him 1000 talents per year, according to DIODORUS. We next find him attacking Methone, the last of the Athenian possessions on the coast of Macedonia, and reducing it under his sway. From its position it was advantageous to Athens as affording a basis for maritime enterprise against Macedonia and Olynthus, and the natural supposition would be that Athens would endeavor to save it, but here also aid came too late, (DEM. PHIL. i. p. 50). The city was captured in 353, after a long and obstinate siege, and some Athenian citizens were sold as slaves. Freed from all restraint now in the region of the Thermaic Gulf, we soon after find Philip attacking Maroneia and Pella, on the one side, and aiding the Aleuadæ against Lysimachos and Onomarchus, on the other. Onomarchus had gone to the aid of Lysimachos of Pheræ, and with such assistance that he was enabled to conquer Philip in two battles. The King was then forced to retire into Macedonia, and collect fresh troops. He had

interfered in the affairs of Thessaly even before the emnos, of Methone, and had aided Eudicus and Simos against the cred son of Lycophron, (DEM. *de Cor.* p. 241,) and now again from the for the third time entered Thessaly with a large army. The Thessalians disgusted with the tyranny of Lycophron joined his standard in large numbers; the army made incursions drawing on met near the sea coast on the South of Thessaly, and meanwhile set up Onomarchus was completely defeated,—he himself being his domestic in the flight. Chares was sailing past in the fleet, and afforded aid to the flying Phocians. In the alarm given by the alarm to all these wars he had successfully subdued the assembly of tribes of inner Macedon, Thrace, Illyria, and Pæonia. Demetrius selected Philip thus became absolute master of Thessaly, and preparation having captured Pagasæ late in 353, he was enabled to embark, establish a fleet, and for the first time to harass the coast on after Athenian commerce. His power was now almost absolute at the end of the Thermopylæ to his worship banks of the Hebrus, and from the Ægean sea to the listening to mountains of Orbelus. He incorporated the Thessalians nothing more cavalry, and collected the imposts in all that country. He determined to end the Phocian war he marched towards the Although Thermopylæ to enter Greece. Here however he will the pro- decidedly checked. The Athenians were informed of the speeches he his march. An assembly was called. For once they early since were no *antidoseis*, and in a very few days a force of some there i 5000 foot and 400 horse under the command of he feared Nausicles was despatched, (DIODOR. XVI. 37, 38,) and *symmoris* a arriving at the pass effectually prevented Philip from him as in even hazarding an attack. He now returned into Thessaly contrary Pe- was appointed Tagus of that country, gave command to invade led to invade all its finances, and subjected the whole country to the Eubulu control. His cruisers swarmed on the Ægean, attacking personal ex-

even before the Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, and Geræstus, invaded the
 s and Simos again, the sacred soil of Attica, and carried off the Theoric galley
 1.) and now again from the bay of Marathon. From Pagasæ his vessels
 with a large armada made incursions into Euboea, and effected the partial
 e tyranny of Leontæus, drawing off of that island, to the Macedonian influence.
 umbers; the army meanwhile he was not idle, but having invaded Thrace,
 th of Thessaly, he set up and pulled down kings at his pleasure, extend-
 d,—he himself governing his dominions chiefly at the expense of Amadocus and
 sailing past in Persobleptes, and finally laid siege to Heræum Teichos.
 Phocians. In alarm at Athens for the Chersonese was great. An
 ssfully subdued assembly was convoked in November 352, and Chari-
 yria, and Pæonius was selected as the fittest to command. Immense
 r of Thessaly, preparations were voted, and all men from 18 to 45 were
 he was enabled to embark, when news came that Philip was sick, and
 time to harass him after that he was dead. All the preparations van-
 s now almost abandoned at this report, and the Athenian settled down to
 thermopylæ to his worshipping of the gods, impeaching generals, and
 Ægean sea to listening to speeches, which flattered his vanity and did
 ated the Thessalians nothing more, except to induce a frame of mind destruc-
 n all that counted to the best interests of his country.
 e marched toward him. Although there is no direct authority for stating it,
 however he will the probability is very great, that at Athens many
 were informed of his speeches had been made about Philip, and more particu-
 For once the early since his repulse at Thermopylae. Before this
 w days a forecast there is no reason to suppose that his designs were
 the command to be feared; since in the speeches of Demosthenes, *De*
 XVI. 37, 38,) *symmoriis* and *Pro Megalopolitanis*, no allusion is made
 erte? Philip to him as in any way concerned with Greece. On the
 into Thessaly contrary Persia is then the power against which he sees
 g a command to inveigh. But now all was changed. Phocion
 e country toward Eubulus did not care to excite the Athenians to
 Ægean, attack personal exertions, in fact saw no reason for so doing;

and all their speeches were directed not against any particular enemy, but in favor of *peace at any price*. In the mind of Demosthenes saw matters in another light, and even if the senior orators might speak to please, and lull their hearers with insidious flattery, and pamper their love of ease, his voice would be raised for Pan-Hellenic freedom, and a more vigorous prosecution of war against an enemy who fought not openly, but by deception. In accordance with these views Demosthenes ascended the tribunal, and in the Archonship of Antiochus OL. 107, 1, delivered the following oration against Philip, known under the name of the FIRST PHILIPPIC.

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NOTES

TO THE

FIRST PHILIPPIC.

[Page 1.]

ἰ μὲν λέγειν.] *If it had been proposed to deliberate upon the new matter.* Five days before the meeting in the assembly, a wooden board (σανίς) was hung up, upon which the programme was written. SCHMANN de Com. ATH. p. 59. Προτιθέναι—said the Proedri when they proposed a subject for discussion. Επισχῶν ἂν.] *I should have delayed.* ἂν is used with the historical tenses, when the action of the relative sentence would take place under certain conditions which have not happened. F. 827, B.

τῶν εἰσθότων.] Scil. γνώμην ἀποφάνασθαι, and compare Isocrates Archidamus § 1, for a similar example of hesitation on the part of a speaker: ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὲν τις ἄλλος τῶν εἰθισμένων ἐν ὑμῖν προεῖναι ἀξίως ἢν τῆς πόλεως εἰρηκῶς, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἤγον. By a law of Solon, referred to by Æschines in the exordium of his oration *contra Ctesiphontem*, those above fifty years were called upon to speak first; but the law was now no longer observed as we learn from ARISTOPH. ACHAR. 43. Still, so much respect was paid to Demosthenes that he apologises for rising first. εἰ δὲ μή.] An adversative force—*if this were not so.* JELF. C.

πρότερον.] Since 356, when Philip captured Potidæa.

νυν.] Stronger than νῦν, for the latter is joined with the present and future, but the former always with the present. Hoog.

εὐχόμεν.] Here and in PROM. VINCT. 270, governs the genitive, the more usual construction being with the accusative. JELF. 512.

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Ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου.] The same expression occurs again a few lines below. REISKE translates it, *a praeterito tempore*. Here it is opposed to νῦν, below to τὰ μέλλοντα.

Βουλευεῖν—to give advice. Βουλευέσθαι—to deliberate or consult together. Λούειν—to wash. Λούεσθαι—to bathe. Βουλευέσθαι—to deliberate of more than one person, but when it is used of one person it means to deliberate with one's self, or in one's mind. So Λογίζεσθαι is to reason, consider with one's self; Εἰ μείθεαι—to reflect in one's own mind. BARKER.

Ῥμᾶς.] Ἡμᾶς is the reading adopted by SCHÆFER, but there is no special reason why the orator should include himself. On the contrary, he is plainly exhorting them to do something, and therefore ought to be excepted.

Ἀθυμητέον.] Scil. ἐστὶν ὑμῖν.] Πράγμασιν is governed by ἀθυμητέον. We must not despond in our present affairs. SEAGER in the Classical Journal, LII., p. 235, quotes BACON's Nov. Org. to show that experience of the past is the best ground of hope for the future.

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Τὰ μέλλοντα.] The future. Cf. THUC. i., 138. Τῶν μελλόντων Μέλλω denotes an action yet incomplete, rather than with reference to the future.

Ὅτι οὐδέν.] On the force of the rhetorical question and answer see CIC. de ORAT. III. 54. SMEAD.

Ἐπεὶ τοι γενέσθαι.] Since if, when you had done all that was proper, they had been so unsuccessful, there would have been no further hope. Ἄν ἐλπίς.] Ἄν is inserted because the orator is not in the true state of affairs. νῦν δ' ἐλπίς ἐστίν. ARNOLD Cf. iii. p. 111, 112, for similar sentiments expressed regarding actions past and present.

Ἐπειτα ἐνθυμητέον.] RÜDIGER wrongly translates this, Illud considerandum quod et ab aliis auditis, et ipsi nostis, si in memoria revocatis. Rather, Then you ought to consider both heard from others, and you yourselves know it, having recalled it to your memory. The verbal is here joined with a dative of the person, which is the more rare construction; for more frequently verbs require an accusative of the person. Ἀκούουσι agrees with ὑμᾶς and αὐτοῖς is connected with εἰδῶσιν, and not with ἀναμνησθῶσιν.

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s. Of. ISOCH. 8, 12. Θανμάζω δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, εἰ μηκέτι
 ουνέουσιν, καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων εἰ μηδεὺς ἀκηκόασιν. ΣΑΥΡΡΗ.
 [οὐ χρόνος οὐ πολὺς.] No long time ago.
 τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων.] Ἑλληνικῶν is wanting in many
 uscripts, but we have only to compare other expressions of
 same kind to see that it is required here. In the PHIL. II. p.
 we have τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων. In his oration περὶ
 ὧν, p. 199, he has τῶν ἰδίων δικαίων opposed to τῶν Ἑλληνι-
 δικαίων, and in several other instances the adjective Ἑλληνικός
 similarly used. BREMI. His advocacy of the common right of
 Greeks was the grand feature of his life. His policy was
 ntially Panhellenic. His views were not Athenian or Theban,
 those of Pericles or Epaminondas, but Grecian. Hence his
 ent appeals to their national honour, and his proud assertion
 e De Corona, p. 324, that they were overturning τὴν δ' ἐλευ-
 καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην, & τοῖς προτέροις Ἑλληνισιν ὄροι
 ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες.
 πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον.] In 382 Phoebeidas was sent by the
 tans to carry on the war against Olynthus, and on the march,
 ough the treachery of Leontiades, polemarch of Thebes, he
 ed the Kadmeia, and enrolled Thebes in the Lacedæmonian
 ederacy. A number of exiles, among whom was Pelopidas,
 to Athens, and induced the Athenians to allow volunteers
 id them in expelling the Spartans. The garrison of Thebes
 tulated, and war was declared by Sparta. Chabrias occupied
 pass of Eleutherae, and Sphodrias advanced to the Thriasian
 n and devastated the country. Some of the insular allies of
 rta revolt, and join Athens. The Athenians and Thebans
 s reinforced, and led by Chabrias, attack the Spartans under
 esilaus at Thespiæ, and defeat them. The war continued for
 en years, with various success, but in 376 Athens gained a de-
 ed advantage by defeating the Spartan fleet at Naxos. Peace
 s concluded in 371. GROTE, vol. X. chap. 77. Many of these
 ents happening some twenty-five years before, must have been
 he recollection of his hearers
 εἰδῆτε.] Ἰδεῖν, of perception in general, *videre*. Θεᾶσθαι, of
 templating a single object. Ἰν εἰδῆτε, ut cognoscatis. The

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repetition of cognate verbs is very frequent in Demosthenes, generally is found in verbs expressing certain operations of mind. The vocative, too, is nearly always placed as here between the verbs—compare *Or.* ii. p. 19. *νῦν δὲ θεωρῶν καὶ πῶν εὐρίσκω.* *PHIL.* iii. p. 122. *λογίζεσθαι δὲ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ θεωρεῖν.* *Contra ARISTOC.* p. 629. *σκέψασθε δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρεῖτε.* *SCHÆFER* observes: All these terms are not really synonymous, and he considers their use twofold: one, to add force to the matter; the other, to make the oration more agreeable to the hearer.

Ἄν ὀλιγωρῇτε.] If you lightly esteem it. *ἄν* with the subjunctive signifies that the action under consideration depends upon some condition expressed or implied. *JELF.* 424 n.

Τῇ τὸτε βόμῃ.] *JACOBS* says that the arrogance of the Lacedæmonians after the battle of Ægospotamos drew down upon them the hatred of all the Greeks. The Corinthian War was fomented by the king of Persia, and Conon's victory at Onidos humbled them for a while, and lightened the yoke they were attempting to impose on Greece. This arrogance was ended by the defeat at Naxos above mentioned, and Demosthenes might thus fairly remind his countrymen of their share in the glorious conflict, and of their anxiety for the liberties and rights of the Hellenic nation.

Τούτου.] Istius. These words are used by a speaker in declaring against an opponent to mark his anger and contempt. *Cicero.* *In Cat.* i. 1. *Nos autem, viri fortes, satisfacere reipublicæ videmus, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus.*

Ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν ὃν ἔχρην.] From our not giving heed to any one of the things which were necessary.

Πλήθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ συνάμειος.] The abundance of power belonging to him. *ΣΕΝ.* *Αναβ.* i. ch. v. *Ἡ βασιλείως ἀρχὴ πλεονέχων μὲν χώρας, καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὅσων οὐσα.]* At the battle with Onesarchus in Thessaly the previous year, Philip commanded 20,000 foot, and 3,000 Thessalian horse, besides his fleet.

Τὸ τὰ ἀπολωλέναι.] The allusion is to the country in the neighbourhood of the towns subsequently mentioned, and the country around Amphipolis which they always claimed.

Μέντοι.] Tamen. Still.

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ent in Demosthenes, Πύδναν.] A town of Macedonia in Pieria on the Thermaic Gulf, a Greek colony subject to Sparta during the Peloponnesian War; subsequently it fell under the power of the Athenians, and was captured from them in 358. Æmilius Paulus defeated Perseus at Pydna in 168, and terminated the Macedonian kingdom. It was afterwards called Citrum by the Romans, and now Kitron. Πυρραϊαν.] A Corinthian colony on the isthmus of Pallene, about sixty stadia from Olynthus. It was captured by Philip in 356 and destroyed, the territory being given to the Olynthians. Πάριον.] A town in Macedonia, the site of which is now the village of Parion. It was subsequently founded on its site, which became a large and flourishing city, and finally a Colonia Romana.

Μεθώνην.] An Eretrian colony on the Thermaic Gulf, forty stadia north-east of Pydna. In 353, it was captured and pillaged by Philip. During the siege, his right eye was destroyed by the blow of Aster. Strabo subsequently mentions it as a town of Macedonia. There was another town called Methone, in Thrace. There was also a Methone in Laconia, on the south-western peninsula. Thuc. ii. 25.

πάντα τὸν τόπον κύκλῳ.] And all that region round about the town.

Πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν.] The Chalcidic cities, with the colonies on the Strymon, near Ampipolis and Krenides.

ἑαυτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερα.] Governed by their own laws, and free.

ἢ κελύει.] This reading is given by BEKKER and DINDORF. κελύει by SCHÆFER. BEKKER remarks that the elision or crasis of κελύει is invariably written with the coronis omitted.

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ὅτε.] When Philip ascended the throne, his kingdom was embraced in the territory immediately around Pella. Now, in addition to the cities mentioned above, he had subdued the Pæonians, and Illyrians, some Thracian towns near the river Nestus, as well as the whole of Thessaly.

τοιαῦτα.] RÜDIGER reads τοιαῦτα, but the orator does not say that like the fortresses were, but how many. SCHÆFER.

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Ἐπιτειχίσματα.] Fortresses, like Declea in the Peloponnesian War, from which sallies could be made to intercept supplies and ravage the country. ARNOLD. The genitive which follows ought in the opinion of Hemsterhuis, to be the dative. It is here what is called an objective genitive. But SCHÆFER observes that the genitive in such constructions has the same force as the dative. For a similar expression, see DE LIB. RHOD. p. 193. τῆς δ' αὖτε ἀρχῆς ἐπιτειχίσμα. However, in THUC. i. 122, we have the reading ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῇ χώρᾳ. The Latin term was *propugnaculum*. CIC. *pro LEG. MANIL.* 12, *propugnaculis imperii*.

Ἐρμῶν ὄντα συμμάχων.] Acc. before πολεμεῖν. How difficult was for him, being destitute of allies, to wage war with the Athenians, having, &c.

Ἐκτῆσατο δύναμιν] is the reading of BEKKER and DINDORF, which is also adopted by ARNOLD and WHISTON. SCHÆFER gives ἐκτῆσαι ἂν, but remarks: *Nollem Rüdigerus, ex paucis nec optimis convocassit ἐκτῆσατο pro ἐκτῆσαι ἂν*. For he goes on to state, that it is rare that the particle ἂν is to be understood in the second member when it occurs in the first, but oftentimes it is done; so that I nowhere have I erased it unless on the authority of the best manuscripts." However, where a sentence is simply a continuation of another, if ἂν be expressed in the first it may be omitted in the second. JELF. 432, Obs. 2.

Κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ.] The usual expression for such things, as drawn from the Palæstic art, as we see from IL. xxiii, 704:

ἀνδρὶ δὲ νικηθέντι γυναικ' ἐς μέσσον ἔθηκεν.

Also in IL. xviii. 507: Ἐν μέσσοισι δὴ χρυσοῖο τέλαντα. See also HER. viii. 26, and ix. 101. The Latin phrase was *præmia ponere*. ÆN. v. 292, 486. SALL. CAT. *Fortuna ea omnia victoribus præmia posuit*.

Κατέστραπται.] Passive, but used reflexively in a middle sense. He has reduced under his power.

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Φίλα ποιησάμενος.] MOUNTENEY reads φίλια, *neque ego improbem*. But comparing the present passage with HER. ii. 152, and v. 37, we shall find φίλα is more usual than φίλια, although

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HEFFER remarks, there is a perpetual confusion in the use of

em.
[καὶ προσέχειν ἅπαντες.] A hexameter. Another occurs
De CORONA, p. 275, quoted by LONGINUS in iii. FRAG. τὸν γὰρ
Ἀμφίσση πόλεμον δι' ὃν εἰς Ἑλλάτιαν. In Latin, numerous ex-
amples of hexameters in prose occur, as in CIC. pro ARCH. 1.
qua me non infitior mediocriter esse—versatum; and also in
ALL. CAT. xix. Cneii Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes.
[Οὓς ἂν ὁρώσι ἅ χρή.] Whom they may see prepared and
willing to do what is necessary. The Perf. Pass. of παρασκευάζω
means to be prepared, simply.

[καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ.] VEMEL wishes us to construe this
passage as follows: καὶ (ἂν) ἕκαστος ὑμῶν οὐ (i. q. ubi) δεῖ—εἰρω-
νὴν ὑπάρξῃ ἔτοιμος πράττειν, εἰσφέρειν—στρατεύεσθαι. And then
the apodosis returns at καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα κ.τ.λ. And WHISTON fol-
lows this order in his translation of the passage. But a preferable
order, which is also given by BARKER, will be shown by my trans-
lation: And let each of you, laying aside all pretending, be pre-
pared to act where you ought, and in so far as you can, render your-
self useful to the commonwealth, &c., and in a word, plainly, if you
could depend upon yourselves alone. εἰρωελαν—dissimulatio—think-
ing they were not able for their work, but in reality being so.

εἰσφέρειν—a frequent advice of our orator. See OL. ii. 27. The
εἰσφορά was a war tax upon the Athenian citizens, according to
their property. From THUC. iii. 19, it has been supposed that the
year B.C. 428 was the first in which this tax was levied. But this

is doubtful as there are references to it earlier than this year.

The census of Solon was the original basis for this εἰσφορά; but
the archonship of Nausinicus, B.C. 377, the people were divided
into four classes for the levying of the rate. 1, All citizens
whose property was rated above twelve talents; 2, All between
twelve and six; 3, Those from five to two; 4, All between two
and twenty-five minæ. No exceptions were made, even orphans
and aliens were required to contribute. For further particulars

see DIOT. ANT. and DEM. de SYM. Στρατεύεσθαι.—All Athenian
citizens between eighteen and sixty were compelled to be en-
rolled for military service, and after twenty could be called upon

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for foreign service. But in the time of Demosthenes such leaders as Charidemus and Iphicrates were engaged to fight and the Athenian himself remained at home. The armies of the principal Greek States were mercenary, chiefly obtained from Arcadia, the Switzerland of ancient Greece. The Carians were said to have been the first mercenary soldiers, and, as such, their name was afterwards used as a reproach.

Συνελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν.] 'Απλῶς is wanting in many manuscripts and εἰπεῖν is omitted by BEKKER and DINDORF, but given by SCHAEFER. I have retained both; ἀπλῶς on the authority of the best German commentators, and εἰπεῖν from a comparison with a similar expression in XEN. ANAB. iii. 1; ὥς μὲν συνελόντι εἰπεῖν. That I may state simply and briefly. Ὡς is omitted in the present passage, as is also the case in HER. vi. 30. Ἐπαθε οὐδὲν κακὸν δοκεῖν ἐμοί; and also, EUR. MED. 230, γιγνώσκειν καλῶς, a reading to be preferred to that of MUSGRAVE: γιγνώσκεις καλῶς.

Ἄν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐβελήσγητε γενέσθαι.] If you do not wish to depend upon others: i. e. if you wish to be your own masters. SCHAEFER translates *e vobismet ipsis, non ex aliis, pendere*, a very good explanation, but hardly a translation. See i. COR. vi. 19. Οὐκ ἐστέ ἑαυτῶν. Ye are not your own masters; and also, SOPH. OED. 917. We have adopted the reading ἄν here instead of ἦν, which is given by nearly all editors. DINDORF says in his preface to his note on p. 51, 29, PHIL. i.: "This may be considered as most certain that Demosthenes nowhere uses ἦν," and he corrects the passage as we have given it.

Κομείσθαι.] Vobis acquirere—you shall acquire for yourselves your own—i. e. Pydna, Potidæa, Methone, and Amphipolis.

Τὰ κατερραβυμμένα. . . . τιμωρήσασθε.] You shall again receive what you have thoughtlessly lost, and inflict punishment upon the guilty. Observe the peculiar use of the middle voice in these verbs, cf. XEN., MEM., iii, 5. καταρραβυμσάντες ὅστερ' ἔχουσιν.

Πετηγμένα ἀθάνατα.] Cf. HOR. OD. iv. 7. 7. Immortalia ne spernimus annus.

Καὶ μισεῖ. . . . ἔχειν αὐτῷ.] And there are some who hate and fear and envy him even of those now seemingly most friendly to him. Ἐχειν used here for εἶναι, as also in HER. iii. 82, Ἐχόντων to advance

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mosthenes such leader, and its compounds are frequently used in this way, Ἐπέχειν, vi. 102. Προέχειν, iii. 142. Προσέχειν, iii. 48, and so of many other verbs, for which see JELF. 359.

ned from Arcadia, $\kappa\alpha\upsilon = \kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\upsilon$. Porson's rule is: In words joined by crasis, as ns were said to have $\kappa\alpha\iota$, $\kappa\alpha\upsilon$, $\kappa\alpha\upsilon$, iota ought nowhere to be added unless $\kappa\alpha\iota$ forms a such, their name $\kappa\alpha\iota$ with a diphthong, as $\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\alpha$ for $\kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$. *Præf. ad.* Hec. p. xi.

anting in many man-
DINDORF, but given
n the authority of

a comparison with [παρὸν] (from ῥᾶν, θυμός.) *Lentitudo*—indifference—arising from an improper estimate of the importance of the difficulties
omitted in the present which they had to contend.

Eπαθε οὐδέν κακόν [Οἱ προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας ἄνθρωπος.] *To what a pitch of extravagance the man has come.* The adverbs πού, ποί, πῆ, οὐ, οἶ, ᾧ, and ὡς are used when we wish to say that one or more others are joined to the genitive case, and

PH. EL. 1035, and XEN. CYR. vi. 1, 42. BEKKER reads ἀνθρωπος, which is adopted by ARNOLD, but rejected by DINDORF and SCHÆFER, who remarks: I do not remember of more than two places

COR. vi. 19. Οὐκ ἐν ᾧ ἰσχυρὸς **BEKKER** (OL. ii. 23, and PH. iii. 118.) If I shall find also, **SOPH. CED.** By others, I shall candidly point them out on the first occasion.

instead of *ἡν*, where *μελαγέλιος* is derived from *ἀ, θέλω* = *mulceo*, to lull gently with
 ys in his preface the further idea of an evil intention, L. & S.—SUIDAS says it is
 considered as most derived from *ἀ Σέληνη*, a town of Pisidia, whose inhabitants lived
 and he corrects very intemperately. If such be the case it is not a solitary

distance, since we have *Sybarite*, an effeminate person; from *Sybaris* in Lucania, founded by Achæans and Trœzenians, B.C. 10, whose citizens were famed for their luxury and effeminacy.

ou shall again receive punishment upon him while keeping what he has subdued, to remain content with them. In these verbs, οὐδὲς ἐστίν, or οὐδὲς τ' ἐστίν followed by the infinitive is properly rendered οὐδὲς ἐστίν, ὥστε—he is not of such a kind as to be able to resist.

Immortalia ne speramus signifies *I am wont*; *oîds τ' εἶμι* *I am able*. MATTH. GK. GR. 479. WINSTON was therefore wrong in translating this passage, "and

re some who hate is unable to rest satisfied with them." "*Μένειν ἐν τοῦτοις* is properly, as here, to remain in this state of things, without attempting to advance any further; hence to let things remain as they

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are. In DE. COR. 307, it is μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων = *to persevere in* affairs c
 μένειν ἐπὶ τινι = *insistere alicui*."—RÜDIGER. μοι 'Αχαι
 stow? A
 depended t
 EN. ii. 37
 contemptuo

'Αλλ' αἰετὶ περιστοιχίζεται.] But he is always seeking
 obtain something new, and while we are dallying and wasting
 opportunities in idleness, he hedges us in on every side. Προσπε
 βάλλεσθαι and περιστοιχίζεσθαι are taken from the language
 hunters. Κύκλω πανταχῇ, *circum undique*. Cf. HOM. OD. viii. 2
 κύκλω ἅπαντῃ, and XEN. ANAB. iii. 1, 2: κύκλω δ' αὐτοῖς πᾶσι
 πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμῳ ἦσαν. Τέθνηκε δ
 tely recei
 ame after t
 his illness.
 vely an int
 ing was be
 probability
 movement o
 necture the
 can once it
 Kal γὰρ δι
 im." Lat.
 die." W
 connected w
 πρὸς τοὺς
 Ταχέως.]
 αχέων, διὰ τ
 "Ἐρερον Φίλ
 Παρὰ τὴν α
 by his own s
 esist an attac
 ass. from ἐπ
 Καίτοι καὶ τ
 nderstood, a
 happen him, a
 do of ourselve
 ult passage,
 very commer
 considering th
 or τοῦτο, τοῦ

Ποτ' οὖν πότε.] This abrupt method of Demosthenes
 much admired for the attention it attracts on the part of
 hearers.

Νῦν δὲ τί χρῆ ἡγεῖσθαι] What, then, do you consider
 is taking place now? Subaudi, εἰ μὴ ἀνάγκην. REISKE.

Τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι.] The disgrace impends
 over our present circumstances. Ὑπὲρ is here used with Gen.
 express the cause of our feeling, the more usual construction be
 ὑπό, with the same case. JELF. 630, c.

Εἰπέ μοι.] Singular, though addressed to many. Φέρε and ἄγε
 used similarly. Cf. PLATO. EUTH. Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Σώκράτης, τε
 ὑμεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι. In tragedy we sometimes find a plural verb, and
 singular object addressed. SOPH. ŒD. COL. 1102, 1104, where
 old man addresses Antigone alone, fondly imagining that Isme
 is also there.

Περὶόντες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι.] We have followed ARNOLD in
 jecting κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, which BEKKER and DINDORF enclose
 brackets, and WHISTON stigmatises as useless verbiage. SCHENK
 reads αὐτοῦ, *hic loci, hoc ipso in foro*. LONGINUS quotes the passage
 in DE SUB. c. 18, with ἀλλήλων, which is probably a gloss. See
 a remarkable statement of ST. PAUL, shewing the conservative
 character of the Greeks, since even in his days "they spent the
 time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing
 Acts xvii. 21.

Γένοιτο γὰρ ἔν τι διουκῶν.] For what can be greater
 than a Macedonian man warring against Athenians, and regulat
 the common policy of Greeks? Observe the force of γὰρ in the
 sentence. It denotes the surprise of the speaker, that such a state

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ων = to persevere in affairs can exist. Cf. II. i. 128. πῶς γὰρ τοὶ δάσουσι γέρας μεγά-
μοι Ἀχαιοί; For how shall high-souled Greeks a prize on thee
stow? Nam is similarly used in Latin, but always is good prose
appended to another word. It may stand first in verse. VIRG.
ÆN. ii. 373, xii. 637. Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ, Vir Macedo, HOR. used
contemptuously.

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Τέθνηκε Φίλιππος. . . . ἄλλ' ἄσθενεῖ.] Alluding to the reports
ately received at Athens concerning Philip in Thrace. "Some
time after the seige of Methone Philip was attacked by a danger-
ous illness. The reasons which induced the Athenians to take so
lively an interest in this occurrence are explained in OL. iii. The
siege was besieging the fortress of Heræum in Thrace, and in all
probability made no secret of his designs on Byzantium. This
movement caused great excitement in Athens. Exactly at this
uncture the news of Philip's illness reached Athens, and more
than once it was confidently asserted he was dead." ARNOLD.

Καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὐτός τι πάθῃ.] For even if something should happen
im." Lat. "si quid humani acciderit," a euphemism for "should
die." WHISTON. In καὶ γάρ, καὶ always means even, and is
connected with the word next following. HER. i. 77. Καὶ γὰρ
πρὸς τοῦτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποίητο συμμαχίη. JELF. 786, Obs. 8.

Ταχέως.] Other forms of this adverb meaning quickly are: διὰ
τάχων, διὰ τάχους, ἐν τάχει, σὺν τάχει, τάχυν, and ὡς τάχιστα.

"Ἐτερον Φίλιππον.] Antonomasia for "another treacherous enemy."
Παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βώμην κ.τ.λ.] Has he been aggrandized so much
by his own strength as, &c. Βώμη like robur means strength to
resist an attack. Τοσοῦτον, ὅσον, acc. of quantity. Ἐπηύξηται, Perf
pass. from ἐπαυξάνω.

Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο. εἴ τι πάθοι κ.τ.λ.] After τοῦτο, ἂν γένοιτο, is
understood, and even if this should be the case, if something should
happen him, and fortune, which always takes better care of us than we
do of ourselves, should aid us, and perform this. In this very diffi-
cult passage, rendered even more so by new readings from nearly
every commentator, I have given what seems the best translation,
considering the uncertainty of the passage. SCHÆFER here reads
for τοῦτο, τούτων, and removes the point. But in his explanations

[Page 4.]

he calls the construction an *anacoluthon*, which with his reading is not. DINDORF brackets *καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιο* unnecessarily, and AUGER reads (*καὶ γὰρ ἐξεργάσαιο!*) *Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο*. Cf. CORONA, 123; so, *καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο*, FALS. LÆG. p. 314, *Contra* DION. 40; *καὶ γὰρ αὐ τοῦτο*, *Contra* MEID, p. 167. FRANKK. *Τὰ τῆς τύχης* for *ἡ τύχη*, with this distinction, that the latter means *fortune*, the former a continuation of fortunate events. Compare his statement about fortune here with the opening of the OL. ii.

Τεταραγμένοις ἐπστάντες.] *Having a hand in all his affairs undisturbed.*

Ὅπως βούλεσθε.] *At your pleasure.* On the indicative see J. 813.

Ἀμφίπολιν.] A town on the Strymon about three miles from the Ægean. The port was Eion. It was originally called *Ἐννεα* and belonged to the Edoni. But Hagnon in 437 expelled the Edonians and called the place Amphipolis, for the reason of which see Thuc. iv. 102. Brasidas in 424 captured it from the Athenians, and in 422 Cleon and he fell in battle before its walls. Brasidas was honored as a god by the Amphipolitans, and was regarded as the real founder. DICT. ANT. s. v. *Brasideia*.

Καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμας.] *Depending upon your resolutions and decrees*, i. e. if you depend upon, &c. On the meaning of this passage critics are much divided. WOLF translates *ἀπηρημένοι*, *hesitating*. But SCHÆFER, *separated, removed*; but used in this sense it governs the genitive which he supplies in *πραγμάτων*. We have followed WYTTENBACK in translating *depending upon*, in which sense it governs the dative. *Γνώμας* decrees. Demosthenes probably alluded in this word, and also *παρασκευαῖς* to some such exhibitions of Athenian preparations and decrees as happened when Philip was besieging Heræum. The people assembled, voted 40 galleys and 60 talents to prevent the capturing the town. Nine months afterwards ten galleys were sent out, and five talents. In the subsequent part of the oration we shall find him speaking of formidable powers—on paper—here also the allusion may be the same.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν λέγων.] *Since then you know and are satisfied that you must do your duty, and be ready and willing to do it, I*

ich with his reading
 ὁδοῦται unnecessarily.
 Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο. Cf.
 s. 314, *Contra Dios*
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more of that. 'Ως with [Page 4.]
Gen. Abs. indicates that the real exist-
 ce of the action of the participle is kept out of view, and repre-
 ated only as something supposed or thought of, referring to the
 ion which a person formed or was to form of it.—JELF. 701.

Καὶ τὸ πλῆθος λέγειν.] *And the magnitude of the force, and*
supplies which shall be necessary, and other things which appear
me best and speediest to prepare, this now I shall endeavour to
plain. Καὶ δὴ, protinus, statim, now. It is also used very fre-
quently, especially in HERODOTUS, to introduce the most important
ause of a sentence, which seems to be its force here. See DON-
SON CRAT. p. 268.

Καὶνὴν καρασκευήν.] *A new plan of preparation, i. e. greater*
an any previous one, and likely to secure success. REISKE im-
properly explains: Novum appellat apparatus, requirens novos
lites atque recentes, novas daves, nova arma; vetusta diuturno
in detrita reprobanz.—SCHÆFER.

Οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχύ λέγουσι.] *For those who say "quick" and*
to-day" are not the people who speak most to your advantage.
ήμερον, Attic and comic for σήμερον, and so not a contraction for
ἡμέρα, for the word is Homeric, and therefore prior to the usage
the article. Σήμερον and τήμερον are to ἡμέρα, as σῆτες and
res to ἔτος.—L. & S.

Οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὰ δυνήθειμεν.] *For by our present expedition,*
cannot render ineffective what has already been done. Cf. HOR.
o. iii. 29.

Non tamen irritum,
 Quodcunque retro est, efficiet.

Καὶ πόθεν.] *Understand, τὴν τροφὴν πορθεῖσα, and whence obtained*
the force must be which shall be able to hold out until we put an end
the war ourselves, or subdue the enemy. Διαλύεσθαι πόλεμον to
end a war by negotiations among the combatants; Διαλύειν πολέμον
the intervention of a third party.

Τοῦ λοιποῦ.] *Ever again, hereafter, denotes future repetition.*
MR. i. 189. ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναικὶς μεν εὐπετέως διαβήσεται,
whereas τὸ λοιπὸν henceforth, denotes future continuance. SOPH.
ANT. 311.

[Page 4.]

Οἶμαι τολῖνν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν.] When the same person thing is the nominative to a verb *sentiendi et declarandi*, and the accusative before an infinitive following it, the accusative is omitted, and the nominative stands before the infinitive. This construction is sometimes imitated in Latin. Hor. Od. iii. Uxor invicti Jovis esse nescis. "Ἐχειν = posse.

Μὴ κωλύων. . . . ἐπαγγέλλεται τι.] Not wishing to prevent other one from offering another suggestion. BREMI translates *quis alius vana et magnifica promittit.*" But I see no necessity for using the verb in a bad sense. It is rather an expression of modesty on the part of the orator. 'Επαγγέλλεσθαι, indeed, *multo polliceri*, and not as he explains it, *promittere quod praestare non possis*.

Μὲν οὖν.] Used to draw attention to what is said. Cf. Soph. Phil. 350. Κεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἔκειτο.

Τριήρεις πεντήκοντα.] The Athenian trireme, called by way of distinction *ναῦς*, was, as its name implies, formed with three banks of oars, and was distinguished still further by the subdivisions "ships of war" (*ταχέας*) and "ships of burden" or transport (*στρατιώτιδες, ἱππαγωγοί*). The trireme had in all 170 rowers, divided as follows: 62 on the upper tier, called *θρανῖται*, 54 in the middle, *ζευγῖται*, and 54 on the lower, *θαλαμῖται*. Besides these rowers there were about 30 supplementary oars (*κῶπαι, ῥινέψ*) to be used by the *ἐπιβάται* or *ὀπλίται* in case of the death of any of the regular rowers. On board each vessel was a *καλευστής* who gave the time to the rowers, and probably six officers. They made up the entire crew of a trireme. GROTE, c. v. xlix. The aristocles laid the foundation of the Athenian fleet, having caused 200 triremes to be built for the war against Ægina, and after the time until the end of the Peloponnesian War, three or four hundred were always ready. This is accounted for by the fact that he caused a law to be carried appropriating annually a sum from the mines of Laurium, sufficient to equip 20 new ones. The building of them, as we learn from DEM. *contra ANDROT*, p. 598, was under the care of the Council of 500.

Δεῖν.] The infinitive is used absolutely to imply that a thing must be done, or as a general expression of necessity, and in the

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ANDROT, p. 698,

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meanings may be used of all persons. SOPH. EL. 8. Οἱ δ' ἰκάνομεν
σκεῖν. OD. x. 431. Ἄ δειλοί, πόσ' ἔμεν.

Εἴτ' αὐτοὺς . . . ἐμβᾶσιν. And then, that you so make up your
and, that if it were necessary, you would yourselves sail away,
being embarked upon them. After ἔχειν γνώμην, διακεῖσθαι γνώμην,

and such like, the Genitive absolute with ὥς is the usual construc-
tion. XEN. ANAB. i. 3, 6. Ὡς ἐμοῦ ἰόντος . . . οὕτως ἔχε τὴν

γνώμην. EUR. MED. 1311. "Here the acc. absol. is used with the
gerundive, of which I am unable to furnish another exam-
ple." ARNOLD.

τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν ἰππέων.] 500, for each tribe furnished 100
sold. That is if the Athenians kept up the force they had at
beginning of the Peloponnesian war. ARISTOPH. EQUIT. 225,
ARISTON. For the construction see JELF. 442, c. 1, D.

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παραγωγὸς τρήρεις.] Cavalry transports, constructed from the
ταχῆαι, or war ships, strengthened for the purpose of carrying
additional burdens. They were first used by Pericles in the
early years of the Peloponnesian war. THUC. ii. 56.

λοία,] for carrying provisions and other necessities of an army.

ἡ Πύλας καὶ Χερρόνησον καὶ Ὀλυνθον.] In 352, Philip being in-

duced by the Thessalians, marched into Thessaly, and was defeated

by Onomarchus, the general of the Sacred War, in two battles. He

retired into Macedonia, but returned soon after, largely rein-

forced, and in turn Onomarchus was defeated at Pagasæ. Soon

after Philip was proceeding to the invasion of Phocis, when the

Athenians, fully aroused, sent off a land and naval force to guard

the pass of Thermopylæ. Philip, prevented from entering into

peace, retreated to Macedonia, and immediately set out for

peace, besieged and captured several towns, and finally sat down

in front of Heræum on the Propontis. From OL. i. p. 13, we learn

from new ones. The bu-
siege of Heræum and marched against Olynthus. It will

be seen that Demosthenes observed the chronological order of

events here as well as in many other passages in his speeches.

γαν.] Observe the position, at the end of the sentence with

which it is connected, in order to give it emphasis.

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Εἰς Εὐβοίαν.] Understand ποτὲ ὠρμήσατε. REISKE. The Euboean cities joined the Athenian maritime confederacy in 378 B. C. After the battle of Leuctra the island fell under the power of the Thebans. In 385-7, discontent having arisen against the Theban supremacy, a large force was sent to keep the Eubœans down. They applied for aid to the Athenians, and, an animated appeal having been made to them by Timotheus, (given by DEM. in REB. CHER. p. 108) they manned and equipped an adequate force, and in a very short time compelled the Thebans, under truce, to evacuate the island. GROTE, CHAP. lxxvi.

Εἰς Ἀλάρτον.] In 395 Lysander, who defeated the Athenian fleet at Ægospotamos, and thus ended the Peloponnesian war, marched to the attack of Haliartus in Boeotia, in consequence of the disputes between Thebes and Sparta. His army was defeated, and he himself slain by Neochorus. Pausanias, the Spartan king, arrived soon after, but Athenian auxiliaries in the meantime had come up under Thrasybulus and Orthobulus, and he was unable to conquer the town. He retired after burying the dead bodies. Lysander. GROTE ch. lxxxiv.

Πρώην εἰς Πύλας.] B. C. 358-2, the latter part of the year. εἰς Πύλας, vide supra.

Οὔτοι παντελῶς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς.] Nor is this a matter to be regarded by any means lightly, even if you do not do this (i. e. fight out against him) since either through fear, knowing you to be unprepared, he may keep quiet. Οὔτοι παντελῶς = non sane propterea SCHÆFER; who also would read οὐ τι because *hujusmodi partem fortissime negantibus recte additur*.

Εἴσεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς.] This does not refer to Æschines since in connection with Philip arose some years later, but more particularly to the actors Neoptolemus and Aristodemus, who had been in Philip's interests—GROTE, chap. lxxix.

Εἰσι γὰρ εἰσι.] Cf. CIC. in CAT. l. 1. *Fuit, fuit ista quondam virtus*, and VIRG. ÆN. ii. 602, *divum, inclementia divum*. COR. Οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπως ἡμάρτετε. Also, CIC. pro L. MANIL. 12, *Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium Populi Romani*.

Ἀφύλακτος λεγέσθῃ.] Active οὐ φυλαττόμενος. SCHÆFER—may be taken off his guard. For a similar sentiment see THUC. iii. suggest that L

[Page 5.]

REISKE. The Eubœan *Μηδέν* *δύτος*.] "*Μηδέν* rather than *οὐδέν* on account of *ἴνα*." REISKE. *Μηδέν* is used subjectively, and expresses that one *thinks* something is not; *οὐδέν* objectively, that it *really* is not. For a beautiful example of *μή* and *οὐ* with their compounds, see XEN. *Memorabilia* iii. 50, quoted in Hoogeveen, s. v. *μή*, with his remarks on it.

given by DEM. in *ἂν ἐνδῶ καιρόν*.] BEK. RÜD. DIN. but Schæfer reads *καιρός*, andaped an adequate for marks on the present reading, "*quod mihi etiam placet*, scil. *καιρός*." If he give an opportunity. Perhaps this was the easiest way Demosthenes could put the case, for Philip was not likely to show away opportunities. He was awake now.

defeated the Athenians. [Πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις.] *Πρὸς δὲ τούτων* = *ante hæc*. WOLF; also adopted the Poloponnesian war. ARNOLD without comment. But *πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις*—in addition to his army was defeated. *πρὸς* would seem to convey the orator's meaning better than *πρὸς τούτων* before these. For he evidently regards the greater plan in the meantime involving the less, and it would be of little use to have a prior force unless its depredations could be followed up by the regular force of 50 triremes which he proposes.

part of the year. *Μή μοι μυρίους δυνάμεις*.] After *μή μοι*, sc. *ἔιπης*. Do not me of those 10,000 or 20,000 mercenaries, nor those paper forces yours. JACOBUS interprets the word *ἐπιστολιμαίους* by *ὡς ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς γραφομένας μόνον δυνάμεις ἔργῳ δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ μὴ θεωρουμένας*. And SCHÆFER calls this much better than REISKE who explains it, by letters sent from the city to the generals, promising large reinforcements which were never sent. D'OLIVET again refers it to the letters sent to mercenary soldiers containing promises never to be fulfilled. MR. KENNEDY's note is: "Literally, *written letters*, that is promised to the generals or allies, but never sent." comp. Shaks. Henry IV., part ii., act 1.:

"We fortify in paper, and in figures.

Using the names of men instead of men."

may not be out of place to suggest a new interpretation. From previous note we see that all males from 18 to 60 were enrolled for service. These were all military men *on paper*, but when a levy came for active service, few could be found. I would then suggest that he refers here to these lists of men. Any one who

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has heard of the immense levies during the late American war will have some idea of a *paper army*.

‘*Ἄλλ’ ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται.*] But (a force) which shall belong to the state, a much finer reading than “*ἄλλ’ ἢ — ἀλλὰ μόνον — solummodo.*”—REISKE. “The reference is to a force which does not entirely belong to the State, but made up partly of mercenaries, but all under the command of an Athenian.”—ARNOLD.

‘*Ἔσται δ’ αὖτις κ.τ.λ.*] And what this force shall be, and how great, and whence it shall obtain supplies, &c. *τὴν τροφήν*, including here only maintenance, not pay. The expression in *Cæsar* *frumentum militibus metiri*.

Καὶ πῶς ταῦτ’ ἐθελήσει ποιεῖν.] And how will it wish to do this, i. e. how shall this force act as “one of the city,” and not as a mercenary? The common reading is *ἐθελήσετε*. *Ποιεῖν* relates to *ἄλλ’ ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται* — *ἀκολουθήσει*.

Ἰπποῦς μὲν λέγω.] I say then mercenary soldiers. The orator puts the most popular branch of the army first, as the Athenians proper was too indolent to fight, if he could hire anybody to do it for him.

Καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσετε.] Take care that you do not. Cf. *XEN. ANAB.* 7, 3. “*Ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες.*” In each case the verb depends upon *ὁρᾶτε*. Also, *PHIL.* iii. p. 130; *ὅπως μὴ πάνθ’ ἐπιποιεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη γενήσεται*.

‘*Ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσαντες φαίνεται.*] But having done as provided a little, add to it, if it seem too small.

Λέγω δῆ.] I say then. *Δῆ = igitur*. He now resumes his argument, having purposely said as little as he could about mercenaries, but instead speaks of the army as a whole, in which, however, mercenaries were to form three fourths.

‘*Ἐξ ἧς ἂν τινος ὅμιν ἡλικίας δοκῇ.*] Of whatever age may seem good to you. *Ἡλικία* means *manhood*, *men of serviceable age*. *HER.* i. 209, *THUC.* vii. 60, viii. 75. “On reaching the age of twenty, every Athenian citizen was registered in his proper *δῆμος*, and in the temple of *Agraulos* took a solemn oath to obey and support the laws, as a citizen or soldier. The military power was accordingly divided into forty-two enrolments (*ἡλικίαι*), each of which was named after the Archon under whom it was registered.

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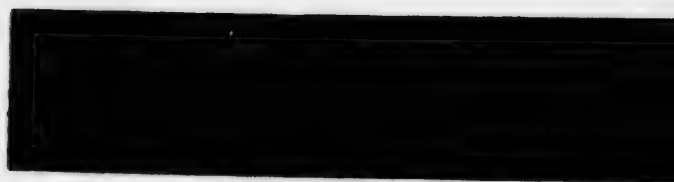
the late American war distinction was made. Rich and poor, noble and ignoble, and philosophers were compelled to fight. Plato, Socrates, Aeschylus and Sophocles, were soldiers. All served without pay, and Pericles introduced a law to remunerate them when on service. It was the aim of Demosthenes to arouse the Athenians to this ancient desire of military renown, and towards this his eloquence was directed."—*Abridged from SMEAD.*

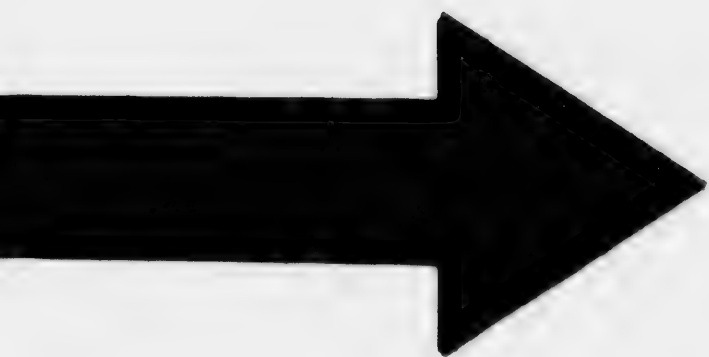
χρόνον τακτὸν μὴ μακρὸν ἀλλ' ὅσον κ.τ.λ.] Observe how skilfully he insinuates his idea, *a fixed time, not long, but as long as may seem good.* His object was to get the plan adopted, and leave its subsequent continuance to a chapter of chances. διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις, "*by way of relieving each other = vicissim.*" ARNOLD. On the case of ἀλλήλοις see JELF. 593. 1, 2. Cf. THUC. 2. 7. Κατὰ διαδοχὴν χρόνον, which is the more usual construction. For another example of the dative, XEN. CYR. i. 4, VEMEL. also XEN. ANAB. i. v. 2. Διαδεχόμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις.

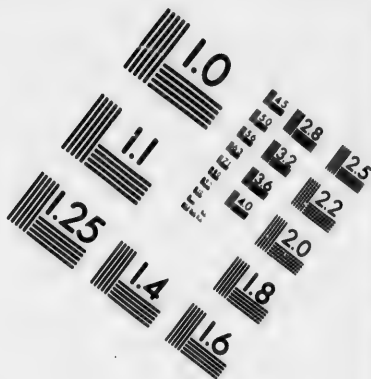
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πνέας διακοσίους.] *Two hundred cavalry*, or in a proportion of ten, which was the usual way. VEMEL. In the Roman army the proportion varied, but the general ratio of horse and foot was one in fourteen. No difference was made in the length of service among the Greeks, but the Roman cavalry served only ten campaigns, the foot soldiers twenty. DICT. ANT. s. v. ARMY. εὐλάρχιστον.] For the construction of this and similar words see F. 579, 6.

λέν.] *Hæc hactenus. So far, so good.* Cf. EUR. MED. 386. Εἰν, δὴ τεθνᾶσι. SOPH. CEd. COL. 1305. Its use is to sum up a statement, and intimates that on the point sufficient has been said. ταχέας τριήρεις δέκα.] *Ten swift triremes*, i.e., battle ships, which were made light but strong so as to be able to manœuvre with ease and dispatch. They were also worked entirely by oars, while ππρωγοὶ generally carried sails εἰ γάρ ἡμῖν.] *For since he has a naval force, we, too, must have ships of war.* Philip, by gaining access to the ports of Thessaly, the means of raising a great naval force, and the produce of the mines in the neighbourhood of Mount Pangæus was applied for some time to building a force sufficient to cope with Athens on her own



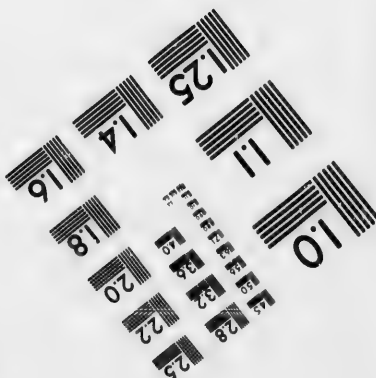
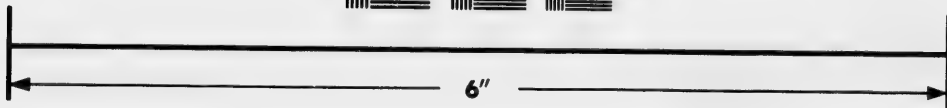




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element. Ἡμῶν. Cf. for a similar construction of a dative after impersonal. SOPH. ANT. 732.

Ἀσφαλῶς.] *Without danger.* Hence his request for ten ships accompany them.

Πόθεν δή.] *Δή* is used with interrogatives to increase the force of the interrogation, and to denote that a definite answer is expected. JELF. 723, 2.

Τηλικαύτην.] *Accipe sensu diminutivo, tantillam.* SCHÆFER. *very small.* Ἀποχρῆν. This word is now written without the subscript, and is the regular infinitive of ἀποχρᾶν, the Ionic βᾶν ἀποχρᾶν. BOECH. Corp. Inscrip.

Πολίτας στρατευομένους.] Various ways of construing these words are given. Some make τοὺς στρατευομένους subject, and πολίτας predicate. But translate, *And why I order the citizens to undertake military service.* True, all the force was not Athenian, but there were 500 of them, and an orator speaking to please could well pass over the other 1500.

Τοσαύτην.] To be taken in a diminutive sense, sc. κελύω.

Ἐνι.] For ἐνεστι. The accent is thrown back to distinguish from ἐν preposition, poetice from ἐν. Also when a preposition stands after the word it governs, the accent is thrown back.

Τὴν ἐκείνῳ παραταξομένην.] *A force to be drawn up in battle against him,* to be contrasted with ληστεύειν following, which means to *harass an enemy* by piratical excursions. His adversary then, is not only to fight him openly, but also to send out predatory bands to cut off his supplies. Cf. παραταξομένην with HEC. 31. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ἀντετάσσαντο ὧδε.

Τὴν πρώτην.] = *Primum.* Cf. OL. iii. 29. HEC. iii. 134.

Ὁδὲ τοίνυν ὑπέρογκον. δεῖ.] *There is no necessity that should be enormous, nor ought it be altogether contemptible.*

Ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν ποτ' τὴν πόλιν.] *Because I have heard the state once kept up a mercenary force at Corinth.* This was during the war of the allies against Sparta in 395 B. C. On the Spartan side Agesilaus led the army, and during the course of the war captured Lechaëum and Cenchræa, the ports of Corinth, together with Crommyon, and Sidus, and finally shut up the city in Corinth. It was during this war that Iphicrates with his

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 defeated a *mora* of Lacedæmonian horse, and for a time
 ewed the courage of the allies. Iphicerates commanded the
 mercenary troops until the year 392, when he was succeeded by
 abrias. JACOBS says that Polystratus must have been associated
 command, as he is mentioned by ARIST. P^{RAUT.} v. 173. Some
 ad for Πολύστρατος, Polutrophos, according to XEN. HIST. while others
 ain propose Callistratus, from DEM. *contra TIM.* p. 1187. The
 ar was ended by the peace of Antalcidas, B. C. 387.
 Εξ οὗ δ' ἀτὰρ . . . γέγονασιν.] But from the time that your
 mercenaries have warred alone for you, they have conquered both
 sends and allies, and your enemies have increased to a portentous
 tent. 'Εξ οὗ = ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξ οὗ. *Ex quo tempore.*
 Παράκλιντα.] Having negligently attended to the wars of our
 commonwealth, have gone away, &c. The verb παρακλίνειν is to
 perform anything loosely and in a hurry, where, as soon as you
 ve touched it, you forthwith run away to something else. REISK.
 other critic gives it the meaning of θρύπτειν, *delicias facere*, but
 is hardly probable. As to the general estimation in which
 these mercenaries were held, you may learn from Isocrates, who
 calls them κοινούς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐχθρούς. WOLF.
 Πρὸς Ἀραβαζόν.] The Social War broke out in 357 B. C. by the
 revolt of Byzantium, Chios, Cos, and Rhodes, from the Athenian
 league. The conduct of the war was given to Chabrias, who sailed
 way to Chios, but was almost immediately slain (LELAND B. i.
 iii). After some quarrelling between Iphicerates, Timotheus
 and Chares, the latter at length, in 356, succeeded to the command.
 e set out with a large fleet to attack the islands, but, having no
 money, he was compelled to yield to the solicitations of his sol
 ers, and hire them to Artabazus, satrap of Daskylium, then in
 revolt against the king of Persia. By their aid Artabazus de
 stituted Tithraustes, the general of the Persians, and Chares was so
 edsumely remunerated that all parties returned to Athens in
 eat glee. But the king of Persia sent envoys to state he would
 sist the enemies of Athens in the war on account of the aid lent
 Chares, when the Athenians, thoroughly alarmed, sent messages
 the islands regarding a peace, which was finally concluded in
 35 B. C. GROTE, chap. lxxvi.

[Page 6.]

‘Ο δὲ στρατηγός.] *And the general follows.* “Δὲ connect notions which the second is distinguished from the first, but not opposed to it.” ARNOLD.

Εἰκότως.] *Ut par est, And how else?*

Τὰς προφάσεις παρακαταστήσαντες.] *Take all cause of excuse from both general and soldiers, provide pay, and place soldiers from home over your generals as inspectors of their actions.* Ἐπόπτας, *Inspectores*, exquisite dictum, nam sic ii, qui majoribus mysteriis initiati erant appellabantur. FRANK. ÆSCH. PROM. 29. Καὶ σὺ δὴ πόνων ἐμῶν ἦκεις ἐπόπτης; The word was also used verbally, of attaining the highest earthly happiness. ARISTOT. KAN. 746. “Παρακαταστήσαντες. περικαταστήσαντες. Malim simplicius παραστήσαντες. REISKE. Non item ego.” SCHÆFER.

Ἐπεὶ νῦν γε.] *Since now it is laughable how we manage our affairs.* Cf. Ποιεῖν γέλωτα. *To make a joke.*—HERODOTUS.

Ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ.] “These words, ‘we carry on war with Philip’ must not be taken literally, for, at the time when this speech was delivered, there had been no open rupture; although the business of Amphipolis, the sending troops to Eubœa, which were opposed by a Macedonian force (OL. 106, 3), (the proper date is OL. 107, and the measures adopted in consequence of Philip’ Thermopylæ, (OL. 106, 4) and his proceedings in But his conduct for some years previous had been aggressive towards Athens. He had seized the sacred gallery at Marathon and besieged Heræum, besides other overt acts of war against them. Οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε δὲ δύο;] *Are you not accustomed to elect from among yourselves, ten taxiarchs, and generals, and phylarchs, and two hipparchs?* The Strategus was first appointed after the remodelling of the Constitution by Cleisthenes, and as well as the other officers mentioned, was elected by χειροτονία. This was the usual way of electing men for the public service, in case of a vote for war or peace, for naturalizing a foreigner, for releasing a state debtor, and for every case of privilegium, it was necessary that the voting should be by ballot, ψήφος. The generals were almost always ten in number, and in the time of the Persians were exercised command of the army one day each in turn.—HERODOTUS.

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110. But in the later years, as in the time we are speaking of
two or at most three were sent out. Three generals, Nicias, Alci-
ades, and Lamachus, commanded in the war in Syracuse, and in
46, in the Social War, Iphicrates, Timotheus, Menestheus, and
Hipparchus were sent out. However, the two former were not intended
for command, but simply to give advice to Menestheus. Taxiarchs
were so called from commanding a *τάξις*, which was the principal
division of the Athenian hoplites. The Phylarchs were appointed
to superintend the management of the cavalry, and subjected to
the control of the Hipparchs in the same way as the Taxiarchs
were to the generals. They were originally only four, but when
the tribes were increased to ten, a similar number of them was
required. Hipparchs were generals of the cavalry and exercised
supreme authority over the Phylarchs. They were always two in
number.—ARIST. AV. 799. Sometimes in foreign wars, only one
was appointed.—HER. vii. 154. For further particulars see DICT.

Πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρός.] *Except one man, whom, &c.* From this we
see that the ten generals in his time did not go to war as formerly.

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Οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν.] *The rest marshal the pro-
cessions for you.* Πέμπειν is used for ἄγειν with the words χορόν,
ἐπὶ τὴν πομπήν. This latter word applied to all the public proces-
sions of the year. Ἱεροποιῶν.—Magistrates who were appointed
generally, ten in number, to conduct the usual sacrifices, including
those belonging to the quinquennial celebrations, except the Pana-
thenæa. There was also a higher rank of them who sacrificed to
the Eumenides. These last were chosen by open vote, and did
not slay the victims themselves, but only performed at the com-
mencement of the sacrifice.—DICT. ANT. These last are specially
mentioned by DEM. *contra* MEID. 552.

Ὡς περ γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον.] *For as puppet makers, you ap-
point your generals for the market not for the war.* These images
made of clay and baked much in the same way as *terra cotta*
ῆφος. The generals (αἱρετοί) were painted in beautiful colours, and thus made a show
when exposed for sale in the market. They are elsewhere called
προπλάσται, and *πηλοπλάθοι*, and doubtless generals and soldiers

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were represented as well as other kinds of images. All were exposed for sale in the market place, which gives more point to the sarcasm of Demosthenes, as these generals of theirs were busy in the market attending to the processions. In confirmation see "Luo. *Lexiphanes*, T. ii. p. 347. 'Ελελήθεις σαντὸν τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸ κοροπλάθων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν πλαττομένοις ἐοικῶς, κεχρωσμένος μὲν μίλτω καὶ τῷ κυανῷ, τὸ δ' ἔνδοθεν πῆλινός τε καὶ εὐθρυπτος ἐπὶ" SCHLEFER.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν . . . ἡ δύναμις.] But was it not necessary that your commanders of divisions should be of yourselves, your leaders of cavalry of yourselves, your generals, leaders of your own, that the force might really be one of the commonwealth? On γὰρ with interrogatives, see JELF. 872, i. 'Εχρῆν εἶναι = *Oportebat esse*, at *non oportet*.—FRANKE. "ἐχρῆν ἂν εἶναι = *oportet esse*, at *non oportet*.—FRANKE. "ἐχρῆν—on this participle with the Ind. see JELF. 813, and compare the following parallel constructions. *ED. REX*. 1387. *EUR. HIR.* 647. *DEM.* p. 837. "Ἴν, εἴ τι ἐγίγνετο ἀμφισβητήσιμον, ἦν, p. 84. "Ἴνα μὴδὲν δίκαιοι λέγειν ἐδόκουν. Observe that ἂν is not used in this construction, even when there is direct reference to a preceding hypothetical sentence containing the condition of the dependent clause.

'Ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀθήνων.] From *THUC.* vii. 57, we learn καὶ αὐτοῖς αὐτῇ φωνῇ καὶ νομίμοις ἔτι χρώμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἰαβριοὶ καὶ Αἰγινῆται. And since such was the case it would be more than likely that an annual deputation should be sent from Athens to participate in the processions which we learn were celebrated there with great and magnificent display.—*PHILOSTRATUS HEROIC*, xix. 14. Lemnæ had been taken and colonized a few years before the battle of Marathon.—*HER.* vi. 140. Grote's explanation of this expression εἰς Ἀθήνων πλεῖν is: "It seems, as if it had come to be a proverbial expression at Athens for getting out of the way, and avoiding the performance of a duty;" and so he interprets the present passage. But, as WHISTON remarks, he adduces no authority for his statement, and is quite mistaken, as the expression did not mean that. The absence in the islands of the Ægean was often pleaded for delay, but if we except *Σκυρία δίκη* we find no use of any such terms as proverbial. But it is true that when a man had a bad case at law

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of images. All we give more point to generals of theirs weasions. In confirmation of this, *οἱ δὲ στρατάρχαι αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔμελλον πολεμεῖν μετὰ τοῖς ἑσπερίοις, κεχωρσμένοι μὲν ἑκάστην τὴν μετὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν τε καὶ ἑθρῦπτος ἐν* absconded, the euphemism was ἐν Ἀθήνῃς ἢ ἐν Ἰμβρῷ εἶναι. SYON. In DEM. *contra* OLYMPIOD, p. 1174, we find that Olympiodorus was compelled to go with the army to Acarnania, which makes it appear that generals were sometimes sent away to avoid disagreeable law suits.

Μενέλαον.] It is very doubtful if mention is made of this general anywhere else. Some make him the son of Amyntas and Argæa, and half brother of Philip, his brothers being Archelaus and Aridæus; but "Ab Atheniensibus non poterat χειροτονεῖσθαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔμελλεν εἶναι ἀθηναῖος; Menelaus ut peregrinus et ξεναγός non ἐχειροτονημένος.—SCHÆFER. WOLF also says: Imperatorum Atheniensium Atheniensem esse oportere. "The Menelaus mentioned by Demosthenes as having been the commander of the army despatched to the frontier after Philip's unsuccessful attempt on Thermopylæ, is said to have been the half brother of the Macedonian King, spoken of by JUSTIN and HARPOCRATION, s. v. Μενέλαος. D'OLIVET, on the other hand remarks, that even if Philip were not on the best terms with his brothers, the Athenians could scarcely have selected one of them for a post of such importance. It seems, however, certain that this Menelaus was a foreigner."—ARNOLD. "But the Athenians sometimes conferred the command on foreigners. An example of this was Charidemus of Oreus."—SMEAD. This is not a case in point, for in the introduction of the oration, *contra* ARISTOC, he is expressly called τὸν πολίτην, an adopted citizen.

Περὰν δὲ.] This then I shall now proceed to show. Περὰν δὲ is the reading of REISKE, in his first edition; in the second, περὰν δὲ. And rightly, since περὰν δὲ like εἶμι = ibo, has here at least a future signification.—WHISTON.

Χρήματα τάλαντα.] For the case of this word see JELF. 477, 2. A nominative is used in seeming apposition to a substantive of a preceding sentence in an oblique case. Some regard it as the nominative absolute. Others that it is subdivided into ἡ τροφή, with τὴν τροφήν in apposition.

Τάλαντα ἐνενήκοντα καὶ μικρόν τι πρὸς.] A little more than 90 talents. There were three talents used by the Greeks—the Attic, Ægean, and Æginetan. The talent meant here is the first of these,

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whose value may be stated at £243 15s. sterling. The Attic coins have been fully treated of by Mr. Hussey; and from him we learn that an obol was equal to 1.625 of a penny; 6 obols made a drachm 9½d. nearly; 100 drachms a mina, £4 1s. 3d.; and 60 minæ a talent £243 15s. The expense of Demosthenes' expedition would therefore be £22,425=§109,120. *Πρός* an adverb, cf. EUR. OR. 610. *Μενέλαε, σοι δὲ ταδὲ λέγω, δράσω δὲ πρὸς.* PHOEN. 610. *κατακτενῶ γε πρὸς.*

Τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου.] For each month. Genitive of time.

Εἰ δὲ τις, κ.τ.λ.] But if any one thinks that to procure rather money for the soldiers is a small provision for the war, &c. The passage appears corrupt, and an article is clearly wanted to define the passage which is subject to the verb *εἶναι*. It may be doubted, as BARNES remarks, whether it is good Greek without the article.

Οὐδὲ τῶν συμμαχῶν.] Demosthenes did well to add this passage, as the Athenian armies being so badly paid, would have shown very little hesitation in plundering their allies in the Aegean Sea. They made war support itself, but generally their friends, not their enemies, suffered the consequences.

Κἀγὼ δὲ συμπλέων.] DINDORF reads *ἐγὼ συμπλέων*, and encloses all from *ἐγὼ* to *ἐξῆρ* in brackets. But REISKE has quoted the words from HERMOGENES, which thus establishes their claim to the correctness of the reading adopted by him, as well as SCHNEIDER. In the great variety of readings for the passage I have adopted what seemed the best, and on the common reading will remark that the absence of any conjunctive particle would lead to the supposition that it was wrong. HERMOGENES, p. 347, has, *κἀγὼ συμπλέων ἐθελοῦντος πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν ἔτοιμος ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐξῆρ*, for which REISKE has corrected *κἀγὼ δὲ* as we have given in the text. "Ετοιμος see JELF. 376.

Πόρου ἀπόδειξις.] After these words a new oration begins, according to DION. HALICARN (*ad. Amm.* 1, 10) which he states to have been delivered in the Archonship of Themistocles, 347-6 B.C. But the evidence is all the other way, and even an epitome of the arguments would be too large for these notes. The only thing necessary to be said is that of the heading of the oration given by DIONYSIUS: *Τὴν ἔκτῃ τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν ἀπήγγειλεν*

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and Philip could the *ὑμῶν* denotes all that issues from any one, as commands, commissions, gifts, presents. Latin *ex*, with the ablative.
Ἄν ταῦτα πορίσῃτε. . . . ἃ λέγω.] If you will first provide this.
ἡμεῖς which I mention. This is the best order of the words for translation.

ἑντελῇ.] Complete, full, the whole entire force. Cf. ARISTOPH. *QUINT.* 1867. Also THUC. vi. 45, *ἐσκόπουν ἐντελῇ ἔστιν.*

Νόμῳ κατακλείσῃτε ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν.] And compel them by law remain at the war, i. e. to give their whole attention to the war for your sakes, and not to run away pirating on their own account. *ἡμῶν κατακλείειν, to compel by law.* ANDOC. p. 24, ANTIP. p. 19.

Τῶν μὲν χρημάτων, αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ πορισταί.] Yourselves becoming receivers and treasurers of the money. The arrangement of the finances from this would seem to have been in the hands of the generals. JACOBS. Demosthenes advises the people to assume them, and to allow the general to attend to his own duties. The various impositions upon the general are well given by VÆMEL. *non solum exercitui expeditionique præerat, sed quam plurimam idem rem pecuniariam et quæstuariam, frumentum, stipendium, omnemque victum per quæstores, ministros, servos, et cibos curabat.*

τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτοῦντες.] DINDORF for *ζητοῦντες.* Requiring an account from, &c. All persons at Athens who held a public situation were required to give in an account to the *λογισταὶ* or *εὑθυνοὶ*, board of directors, of the manner in which they discharged their duties; and so strict were they in demanding this, that until the account and vouchers were approved, the officer was not allowed to make a will, to dispose of any property, or receive any public honour or reward. If he failed to send in an account in thirty days after the expiration of his term of service, he was liable to impeachment (*ἀλογίου δίκη*). When he had given in his accounts and they were audited, he was generally honourably dismissed (*ἐπισπαινεσθαι*).—DEM. *De CORONA*, p. 310. Or an accuser might come forward.—DEM. c. MEID, p. 542. The various terms employed were *εὐθύνas ἀπαιτεῖν*, *εὐθύνas διδόναι*, *εὐθύνas ὑπέχειν*, *εὐθύνas αἰεῖν*, the latter also meaning to be convicted of malversation while in the office.

in the *ἀπόδειξις* which came forward. The various terms employed were *εὐθύνas ἀπαιτεῖν*, *εὐθύνas διδόναι*, *εὐθύνas ὑπέχειν*, *εὐθύνas αἰεῖν*, the latter also meaning to be convicted of malversation while in the office.

64, *ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν*

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Καὶ οὐδὲν πλέον ποιοῦντες.] *And doing nothing more.*

Ἐκείνου] Philip. Ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων. *He fights with resources derived from your allies, &c.* Ἀγων καὶ φέρων. *Latus rapere et trahere.*—DEMOSTHENES, p. 1282. Πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ φέροι — *ÆN.* ii. 374. *Alii rapiunt incensa feruntque Pergamum.* This is the Homeric ἄγουσι καὶ φέρουσι, of which we have another form in *IL.* v. 484. φέροισιν Ἀχαιοὶ ἢ κεν ἄγοισιν. The Latin equivalent of this being *ferre et agere*, *Liv.* xxii. 3, *postquam res sociarum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit.* See also *Liv.* iii. 37.

Τοὺς πλέοντας.] *Mercaturam facientes.*—SAUPPE. *Your merchants upon the sea.*

Τοῦ πάσχειν ἔξω γενήσεσθαι.] *You will be placed beyond reach.* Cf. the military term ἔξω βελῶν γένεσθαι.—*XEN. AN.* 2. ARNOLD.

Ἴδον παρελθόντα χρόνον.] *In past time.* The acc. of time. *JEROME* 548, g. *Eis Aghmonon kai Imbron embalon.* None of the historical events related here are mentioned by any historian, so that we are left to conjecture. BRUCHNER, in his *Life of Philip*, states that these attacks had been made by Pirates in the service of Philip (SMEAD.) LUCCHESINI supposes that they took place in *OL.* 105. WINIEWSKI in *OL.* 106.4, quoting the words of *ÆSCHINES de Falsis Leg.* p. 37. Φίλιππος δὲ ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Μακεδονίας οὐκέθ' ὑπὲρ Ἀμφικλεως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡγωνίζετο, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ Λήμνου καὶ Ἰμβρου καὶ Σκύρου τῶν ἡμετέρων κτημάτων. Those again who contend that this part of the oration was delivered at a subsequent period make these events to have taken place in *OL.* 105.1. The preferable date is *OL.* 106.2.

Αἰχμαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους ὄψεται ἔχων.] *And he takes away with him, your citizens as prisoners of war.*—*THUC.* iii. 70. Ἐπειδὴ οἱ αἰχμαλῶται ἦλθεν αὐτοῖς. Ἐχων, here equivalent to *with*. In such cases where we use *with*, the Greeks used ἔχων, ἄγων, φέρων, λάβων, observing this distinction, that ἔχων and λάβων are used of animate or inanimate things.—*XEN. CYR.* i. 8; of animate alone ἄγων; of inanimate φέρων, Ὁ Κύρος ξίφος φέρων προσήλασε — ἵππον ἄγων ἦλθεν — ἵππῃας λάβων τοὺς πολεμίους κατεδίωκεν. cf. *JELF.* 698.

Γεραιστῶ.] A town and promontory in the southern part of Eubœa, with a celebrated temple of Neptune. It was used as

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NOLD sup
καὶ π
id. 520.

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ων. *He fights with*

ἄγων καὶ φέρων. *Late*

Πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἡ-

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which we have another

ειν. The Latin equi-

8, postquam res soc-

See also Liv. iii. 37.

SAURPE. *Your merchant*

will be placed beyond

σθαί.—XEN. AN. 2.

the acc. of time. JELF.

one of the historians

torian, so that we

Philip, states that

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place in OL. 105.

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οὐκέθ' ὑπὲρ Ἀμφικ-

καὶ Ἰμβρου καὶ Σκύ-

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And he takes away

υνο. iii. 70. Ἐπει-

ent to *with*. In suc-

ἄγων, φέρων, λαβ-

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ate alone ἄγων; α-

λασε — ἵππον ἄγων

v. cf. JELF. 698.

the southern part of

It was used as

[Page 8.]

et of call by vessels passing between Asia and Attica. The four
monitories of Eubœa were Geræstus, Caphareus, Artemisium,
ænum. τὰ πλοῖα, *merchant vessels*. Ἀμύθητα χρήματα ἐξέλεξε.
lected *extravagant ransoms*, either from the vessels captured, as
NOLD suggests, or from the captives, as explained by SAURPE.
καὶ πρᾶγματα ἀμύθητά μοι παρέχων διετέλεσεν.—DEM. contra
id. 520.

καὶ τὴν λεπὰν. τριήρη] *And went away with the sacred galley.*
the time of Plato mention is made (PHÆD.) of a sacred vessel
led the Delian Theoris, used to convey the delegates from Athens
the quadrennial festival at the island of Delos. There were two
the age of Demosthenes; several in subsequent times, the num-
being increased by the abominable flattery of the degenerate
henians, who called them *Ammonis, Antigonis, Demetrias* and
olemat, to propitiate the favour of Kings whom they feared to
end. The names of the two of the age of Demosthenes were
ralus and Salaminia. They were generally used for carrying
assadors, public messages, money, and sometimes as the adm-
t's ship in naval battles. These vessels were also called Delia
d Theoris. ATHENÆUS relates that the Delia was the vessel
which Theseus had sent after his return from Crete.—ATH. iv. p.
8. The crew received four obols per day, and were paid all the
ar, although, as BOECKH states in his *POLITICAL ECONOMY of the*
HENIANS, they remained nearly all their time at home in idle-
ness, which may account for the seizure of the vessel by Philip's
uisers.

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Τμῆς δὲ οὐτε. βοηθεῖν] Δύνασθε in preference to ἡδύνασθε,
nce the orator not only implies that you did not then prevent,
and you are not even now able. Translate. *And you are neither*
le to prevent these things, nor to send succour, at the times you
promised. "Eis—*against, by, and hence virtually at; but with*
ference to a future point of time for which arrangements are
now made."—ARNOLD.

καίτοι τί δήποτε.] *And yet how pray? Atqui quid tandem? On*
the particle, see HOOGE de PART. GRÆC. p. 283, 7, s. v. καίτοι.

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Παναθηναίων.] This festival was instituted by Erichthonius, and was called originally Athenæa; but when the tribes were collected the name was changed by Theseus to Panathenæa. There were two festivals of the name; the one distinguished by the name *μεγάλα* which was celebrated every fifth year (*πεταετηρίς*) and the other annually, commencing on the 17th and continuing till the 28th of Hecatombæon,—11th to 22d of July. The principal amusements were in chariot racing, horse and foot races, processions, games, &c. including the lampadephoria, and the procession of *Πεπλος*. Golden crowns were also awarded at the Panathenæa. DEM. DE COR. 265. See DICT. ANT. s.v.

Τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων.] There were four feasts called by this name. I. Διονύσια κατ' ἀγρούς. II. τὰ Ἀθήναια. III. τὰ Ἀνθεστήρια. IV. Διονύσια ἐν ἔστει. For particulars see DICT. ANT. s.v.

Τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου.] When time is expressed by the genitive is considered as the cause or antecedent condition of the action. *Ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, on this day; ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, during this day; νυκτός, at night; νύκτα, during the night.* Hence here, *at the proper time.*

Ἄν τε δεινὸν . . . ἂν τε ἰδιῶται.] ἂν τε—ἂν τε, sive—aut. *Δεινὸν, periti, ἰδιῶται, imperiti.* Translate: *Whether skilful or unskilful persons may be chosen by lot.*

Καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον . . . ἔχει.] The order of the words is *καὶ ἔχει τοσοῦτον κ.τ.λ.* And displays such a crowd and so great preparations that I know not if any thing can be compared to it. "Ὀχλος refers to the crowds attending the festival, *παρσκευὴν* the costly preparations, dresses, ships," &c.—ARNOLD. Οὐκ οἶδ' ἂν *nescio an.* and compare VIRG. ÆN. ii, 735. *Hic mihi nescio quid trepido male numen,* for a similar use of a Latin idiom. As to the expense, SAURBE mentions that in one year (OL. 92, 3) the Athenians drew over five talents from the treasury to defray the expenses of the Panathenæa alone.

Τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους . . . τῶν καιρῶν.] *That all your expeditions are too late for any use as, &c.* Ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, *est serius venire, cum classis post tempus exiret.*—DISSEN.

Παγαρός. "Pagasæ, a Thessalian city taken by Philip during the war with Lycophron, tyrant of Thessaly.—OL. 106, 4. When omitted.

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liturgy; and if he refused, to submit to an entire change of property. The party challenged could of course object, and, in the case of the hierarchy, the trial was held before the strategi on a fixed day. The matter was fully discussed, and if the challenger made good his cause, the interchange must be made in three days, which might be extended at the will of either party. No concealment of assets was allowed, except shares in the mines at Laurium, which were excepted from all liturgies. If the matter could not be arranged before the strategi, a regular trial (δικη) before the dicæ was held, and from the means of prolonging it, it was rare that a change took place. Of course if the change were effected, the challenger had then to carry on the liturgy from the proceeds of his new property. Months were often, however, consumed before anything could be done towards preparing the liturgy.—See *Dem.* ANT. S. V.

[*Μετοίκους.*] Resident foreigners—of whom there was always an immense number at Athens, and they chiefly resided in the Pirææ and managed the mercantile affairs of the city. They could own no real property, and always resided in rented houses. Every alien had to ally himself to some Athenian citizen as his patron (προστάτης), who not only defended him in law, but was answerable for his conduct to the State. Each family was subject to an annual tax of twelve drachmæ, and aliens were liable to the liturgies and in other respects were taxed in the same manner as the citizens. They had also to serve in the army, and at times performed certain rites to symbolize their condition, and show their relation to the Athenian citizens. One of these was the Hydriaphoria.

[*Τὸς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας.*] The freedmen living apart from their masters.—WOLF. "Sons living in their own houses, and enjoying a separate possession, while their fathers were still alive."—REISE. "Strangers dwelling in the Attic territories."—AUGER. The three explanations have been given, and I have adopted the first. Photius, quoting this passage, says: οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔκουν, χωρὶς τῶν ἀπελευθερωσάντων. Again in *DEM. in EUB.* 1161, he speaks of a woman who had been a nurse; ἀφείτο γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς ἐλευθέρα, καὶ χωρὶς ᾤκει καὶ ἄνδρα ἔσχεν. From

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his explanation of Photius and the remarks of DEM. as quoted, the reading of WOLF will be seen to be the most correct. *Ἐπ' ἐν ὅσῳ τὰυτα μέλλεται*] And whilst these matters are projected, "Ὅσῳ in dat. sc. χρόνῳ. Μέλλω, denotes not simple futurity, but hesitation in regard to a future action.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν εἰρωνείαν.] For *εἰρωνείαν* many manuscripts give *θυμῶν*. For the exigencies of your affairs cannot keep pace with your delay and evasion. DOBREE quotes two very apposite passages. THUC. i. 142. *Τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μινετοί*, and LING. xxi. 48. *Non expectare belli tempora moras et dilationes imperatorum.*

τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον.] The intervening time, i. e. while you are collecting a larger force.—ARNOLD. VÖGEL translates the whole passage thus: "But in the intervening time, the forces, which we think we have, are found to be of no avail when the necessity for them arises. *Ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν.* In the very crisis of the emergency. "By the 'resources' on which they had reckoned, but which had fallen short of their anticipations, I would understand the ways and means which they had voted in their first eagerness, without deducting anything on account of the manifold difficulties and deficiencies which were sure to arise."—JACOBS.

Ὅ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἐπιστολάς.] And he has arrived at so great a degree of insolence, as to send such letters already to the Eubæans. From these remarks, we may gather that the letters in question were not very complimentary to Athens. JACOBS regrets that the letters were lost, since they might have thrown some light on the history of the oration. See JACOBS'S note in ARNOLD.

Τούτων ὥς οὐκ ἔδει.] The greater part of these writings are unfortunately true. *Ὡς οὐκ ἔδει* are used parenthetically, and have been here repeated unfortunately. *Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ'.*] On these particles see JELF. 774, 6. *Οὐ μὴν, yet, nevertheless, verumtamen, ἀλλὰ in sooth, surely, vere.* *Οὐ μὴν* denies something gone before, *ἀλλὰ* opposes the true word to be applied. Here, the meaning is *yet if not true, still, &c.* Cf. DEM. *de Fals.* 13. *Οὐ μὴ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ φιλίας ἀρχὴ συμφορῶσης.* Cf. also EPIC. IIL. DEM. p. 161. *Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' εἰ δὲ πάντα τὰλλα παραλιπόντα ἀντόμως εἰπέναι.*

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ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν, ὑπερβήσεται.] But if any one, by passing on whatever would give offence in his speech, could also do away with the facts, then should he always harangue them for their pleasure.

*Ἄν ᾗ μὴ προσήκουσα.] If it be at an unseasonable time. Ἐρημία γίγνεται. In very truth becomes hurtful.

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Φενακίζειν.] From φέναξ, a cheat, impostor. The word is used in OL. ii. p. 20; and again in PHIL. ii. p. 73, in the same meaning as here, cheating or deceiving, or deluding.

Καὶ μὴδὲ τοῦτο. πραγμάτων.] And not even able to understand this, that it is the duty of those who rightly manage a war, not to follow the course of events but anticipate them, i. e. not to waste their time in unavailing efforts to gain a petty advantage, but to arrange their affairs in such a manner as to be ready for every contingency. "Cf. Liv. ix. 18, At hercle reges, non libenter solum impedimentis omnibus, sed domini rerum temporumque trahunt consiliis cuncta, non sequuntur."—ARNOLD. Ἐμπροσθεν εἶναι = anticipate, to anticipate.—XEN. AN. v. 6. Πολλῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὀπίσθεν ἐπομένων.

Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ. ἄν.] = Perinde ac si, just as if. For ὥσπερ WOLF conjectures ὕπερ, which occurs in DE REB. CHIL. p. 94. Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὕπερ ἐπ' Ὀρέδν πρώην. But ὥσπερ occurs in the same formula in OL. i. p. 13, and in the present oration, p. 305.

Καὶ μὴ τὰ. διώκειν.] And not be compelled to follow what happens. Τὰ συμβάντα = casus eventusque rerum. CIC. pro BALB. 4, 9. It is also further explained by the words considered above. Καὶ μὴδὲ τοῦτο. πραγμάτων. Cf. HER. vii. 49, Μάθε δὲ συμφορὰν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔρχουσι, καὶ οὐκ ὄνθρωποι τῶν συμφορῶν. FRANKS. Demosthenes must have had Philip in his mind when he spoke these words, for many years afterwards in his DE CORONA, 305, he said: Τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου σκέψασθε πῶς. πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἀπάντων.

Πλείστην δύναμιν.] For the number of vessels which Athens could provide, see DEM. de SYM. p. 186. In fact a perusal of the whole oration will supply ample proof of the πλείστην δύναμιν he spoken of.

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οὐδενὸς δ' ἀπολείπεσθε.] *And you lack for nothing.* In the great variety of interpretations proposed for this passage, I cannot be expected to stumble upon a more correct translation than other commentators have advised. But considering that in every passage in which the verb ἀπολείπω occurs, as given by L. & S., the general meaning of *wanting* or *absence* is given or implied; I cannot think that this alone is an exception. The orator had stated that the most abundant means were at their command; that they had done nothing, and made no advantageous use of them, and he now still farther reminds them that they lack nothing, and therefore are inexcusable. But I may state the various interpretations, so that if any seems better than my own, it may be selected. REISKE says he does not understand this passage; what is understood? REISKE seems to have understood πολεμῶν. *Nullum non hostem assecutini, ubicunque videtis concurrere, illuc accurritis.* But REISKE does not agree with WOLF, and says: *Nusquam non sero venitis, opportunitatibus bene rerum gerendarum dudum præterlapsis.* AUGER has the usual way of getting out of a difficulty and changes δ' into οὐκ, *Nullam rem non serius facitis.* SCHEFER calls this foolish, and says οὐδενὸς is neuter gender. And he finds fault with RÜDIGER's translation, *Nihil non assequuti estis.* Rather, says he, *nihil neminem non assectamini, sive affectatis.* Then again WHISTON says, *and yet there is nothing in which you do not interfere*, and his long note is given to prove this correct. Finally, DINDORF alters the reading and connects the words with what follows, translating *Then you war in every way with Philip just as barbarians do.* [ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι.] A nation trained to gymnastic exercises the way the Greeks were, would doubtless laugh at barbarians when they undertook to do what it requires skill and practice to perform. See the very beautiful note of ARNOLD. [τῆς πλεονείας ἔχεται.] With the genitive this verb has the meaning of *to stick to.* Cf. THUC. i. 140. *τῆς γνώμης ἔχομαι.* Τοῦ νόμου σβαί. EUR. OR. 504. *Εκείσε εἰσιν αἱ χεῖρες.] There are his hands.* A spirited description, and one well worthy of our orator. His meaning in all this is that the Athenians, instead of manfully contesting every inch of ground with Philip, were only able to follow him as it were,

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and as, one by one, he wrested their possessions from them, they bemoaned their sad lot, but made no attempt to resist him. Προβάλλεσθαι δ' ἢ βλέπειν ἐναντίον, but to be on his guard or to stand in his opponent in the face. "Προβάλλεσθαι = προτείνειν τὰς χεῖρας εἰς μάχην. HARPOCRAT. s.v. To guard or ward off with the hands." SMEAD. Cf. HOM. IL. v. 879. Ταύτην δ' οὐτ' ἐπεὶ προτιβάλλεαι οὐκ ἐργαζομαι. XEN. CYR. ii. 3, 10. Ἐκ παιδίου εὐθὺς προβάλλεσθαι ἤτατάμην πρὸ τούτων ὅτι οἰομην πληγήσεσθαι.—WHISTON.

Χερρόνησος.] Usually distinguished as *Thracian*, a narrow strip of land 420 stadii long, between the Hellespont and the Gulf of Melas, and connected by a narrow isthmus at Cardia with the mainland. It was colonised by the Athenians under Miltiades the younger, temporary of Peisistratus. Some of the principal towns were Elæus, Madytus, Sestus, Crithote, and lastly, Pactya and Cardia. The little stream, Ægos Potamos, was also in this Chersonese.

Συμπαράθευτε ἄνω κάτω.] *You run up and down along side him.* His march was so rapid that all the Athenians could do nothing to keep up with him, never thinking to prevent him. Observe the use of ἀσύνδετον in the adverbs, to denote rapid motion. Στρατηγὸν δὲ ἐκείνου.] *You are led by him.* "Odioso verbo utitur, quod Athenienses Philippi mercenarii duces et mancipia essent; quod et turpe est et periculosum."—WOLF. This was a most bitter sarcasm on the Athenians. Philip, by thus leading them about, became, as it were, their general in a war against themselves.

Πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων.] *Nor do you look beforehand in any of your affairs.* Various readings and interpretations have been given in this passage. It is evident there is a tautology, and designed so, in πρὸ προορᾶτε. These words may be translated *beforehand*. Περὶ τῶν χρημάτων is the reading of some manuscripts, which WOLF remarks, "Cum pecuniæ sint nervi belli, non in eo modo est hæc lectio."

Πρὶν ἂν ἤ πύθῃσθε.] *Priusquam . . . audiveritis.* ARISTOTEL. Before you have become aware either that some calamity has already befallen you, or is now about to happen. Absurdum est negligere rem, quæ tua interest antequam fiat: absurdissimum, antequam facta sit. SCHÆFER.

Νῦν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐγχωρεῖ.] *Now we have come to such*

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is, that this is no longer possible. Cf. OL. i. p. 10. Οὐδὲ γὰρ
 γος οὐδὲ σκῆψις ἔσθ' ὑμῖν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν ὑπολεί-
 ναι. "Ἡκεῖ is used impersonally like *venitum est*, and πράγματα is
 understood as BARKER suggests. "Ἀκμή = *Critical point*;
 is, *discrimen*." ARNOLD.

φιλοπραγμοσύνην.] This is the first time Demosthenes used this
 term concerning Philip, which he again repeats in OL. i. p. 13
 as *disposition, restlessness*. Cf. PLATO REP. 549. Cf. the language
 employed here about Philip with the words of Isocrates as quoted
 under PHIL. iii. p. 124.

ἔχων ἃ κατέστραπται.] *Holding what he has already subdued*
 and seized.

Ἀποχρὴν ἐνίοις ὑμῖν δημοσίᾳ.] *I verily believe that some of you*
would be satisfied with that, from which we, as a State, would have
suffered shame, cowardice, and every imputation of folly. SMEAD
 remarks that, "these however, were the very terms upon which
 peace was afterwards concluded in 346, and which the orator him-
 self allowed it prudent to accept." Still this was no fault of his
 if his advice had been followed now, perhaps in 346 he might have
 been able to demand better conditions. Ὀφληκότες. Ὀφλισκάνω
 is used almost always in a technical sense. Δίκτην ὄφλ. *To be cast*
in a suit, lose one's cause. But HER. viii. 26. Δειλὴν ὥφλει πρὸς
 βασιλῆος. *He drew upon himself the reproach of cowardice from*
the King.

Καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ἀρεγόμενος.] *And ever grasping for more.*
 There is a fine field here for a philologist to trace this root ἀρ
 through its various languages. In Greek there are ὄρος, a *mountain*;
 ὀρός, *serum, whey*; ὄρνυμι; ὄρνυξ, a *quail*; ὀργή, *anger*; ὄργια,
secret rites; ὄργια, all having the general meaning of *rising or*
tending. In Latin, orior, ordior, porrigo, with the same mean-
 ings. German, reichen, rechen. English, reach.

ἴσως ἂν ἐκαλέσασθ' ὑμᾶς. . . . ἀπεγνώκατε.] *And perhaps he*
may provoke you, unless you have given up altogether. A bitter
 sneer at the laziness and inactivity of the Athenians. Cf. Ἔσχα.
 τὴν ὑμετέραν ὀργὴν ἐγκαλέσασθαι. FRANKS.

Περὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσθαι Φίλιππον.] *For the purpose of inflicting*
punishment upon Philip. This intention would of course be adopted

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and the year as given by ARNOLD was OL. 105, 3. *Μὴ παθεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ Φιλίππου.* *That we may escape punishment from Philip.*

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Εἴτα τοῦτ' ἀναμενοῦμεν.] *Shall we then wait for this, and if send empty triremes, and hopes from this and that one, do you think that all will be well?* Εἴτα is used in asking questions to denote the impatience and indignation of the speakers. Cf. PLATO. *APOL.* 28. Εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνει, ὦ Σώκράτης;.

Κενὰς τριήρεις.] I can hardly think that BARKER is right in his explanation of these words. He says that these vessels were sent out empty to get their mercenaries from foreign parts, and is general alone with the vessels. But he refers to OL. iii. Δέκα ναὺς ἀπεστείλατε ἔχοντα κενὰς Χαλδῆμον, as proof of his view which appears to have quite the contrary meaning; for the Athenians had voted an armament much larger, and this was all that could get when the time came. The expression in my opinion *empty, vain, useless ships*, which from their very number were insignificant for such a war. On the *πύθεις τε καὶ ἐρωτήσεις* which follow in such rapid order, see LONG. *De SUBL.* sect. 18, with his remarks upon them.

Οὐκ ἔξιμεν. νῦν.] *Shall we not go forth with at least a part of our own soldiers?* Ἡρετό τις.] *Some one asks.* Demosthenes fingit aliquem sic interrogasse, sive in ipsa contentione, sive autem in familiari de eadem re sermone. Ποῖ, denotes motion towards a place, and where used with ἄν requires the optative; without it the subjunctive. Ποῖ τις ἔλθῃ is correct. Ποῖ τις ἂν ἔλθῃ is solecistic. In SOPH. ANT. 42, Ποῦ γνώμης ποτ' εἶ; ποῦ here is equivalent to ποῖ. Compare *ubi gentium*, CIC. in CAT. i.

Εὔρῃσει τὰ σαθρά. ὁ πόλεμος.] *The war itself will find the weak points.* Cf. TAC. HIST. ii. 77. *Aperiet et recludet contecta et tumescentia victricium partium vulnera bellum ipsum.* τὰ σαθρά, ἀσθενῆ, κεκλασμένα. HESYCH.

Λοιδωρουμένων ἀκούοντες. τῶν λεγόντων.] *Hearing our opponents upbraiding and finding fault with each other.* This seems to have been a favourite amusement of the Attic orators, and for a very good specimen of the Athenian Billingsgate see DEM. *de Cor.* p. 269.

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Οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόντων.] *Never at any*
we shall we get any necessary thing done. Here we have no less
an four negatives to one expression, which makes a most vehe-
ent assertion. On the construction of οὐ μὴ see JELF. 748 Cf.
ARK. xiv. 25. Οὐκετι οὐ μὴ πῶς ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου.
LUKE xxii. 16, ACTS xviii. 14.

Καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενές. . . . συναγωνίζεται] *There the favour*
the gods, and Fortune fights with us. Εὐμενές. Neut. sing. of
jective used for an abstract noun. Cf. THUC. i. 68. Τὸ πιστὸν
ἐς ἀληθείας. HER. viii. 100. Τὸ πολλὰν τῆς στρατιῆς.

Ψήφισμα κενόν—Τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπιδας.] These words
fer doubtless to many an armament of the Athenians. They
ere decidedly a nation of talkers at this time, and endeavoured
frighten the enemy by a mere decree for raising troops, and a
magnificent number to be called out. The orators fostered this
lusion, and as Demosthenes says the enemy laughed at them,
d the allies trembled for fear of both friend and foe.

Τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους] Many explanations
this accusative have been given. REISKE supplies διὰ, which of
urse makes it easy enough. WOLF connects it with καταγελῶσι,
d changes the acc. into the genitive; but the intervening words
ould then be strangely out of place. SCHAEFER would make it
verned by ὁρῶντες. But all these ways are liable to objection.
s to changing readings, that should in no case be done unless upon
e best authority, which in this case is altogether in favour of the
esent reading. A simple verbal notion, as JELF. 360 says, is
ometimes expressed by a verb and substantive, and the substan-
e generally contains the required verbal notion. He alludes to
e following passages: CEd. COL. 221, δέος ἴσχετε μηδὲν ὄς' αὐτῶ.
SCH. AGAM. 815. Ψήφους ἔθεντο φόβος. He gives also a similar
tin construction from PLAUT. MENEC. v. 7, 27. Quid me vobis
tio est. To the examples given add DEM. de FALS. LEG. 366.
θνάναι τῷ φόβῳ Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Φιλίππου ξένους, and then the
eneral meaning will be, *aliquid sic metuere, ut præ metu exanima-*
e. The accusative here then depends upon the verbal notion in
θνᾶσι τῷ δέει, and the whole is translated: *Gur allies die from*

[Page 11.]

very dread of such reinforcements, or to give a still stronger term, are as afraid as death of such reinforcements.

"Ἐνα ἄνδρα] The general, for in almost all these expeditions was the only man who was an Athenian, and Demosthenes had a very exalted opinion of the mercenaries, although he scarcely told them so, still he hints his opinion pretty freely a few lines below.

"Ἵσχυέσθαι μέντοι... ἔστιν.] But it is possible to promise and to talk glibly, and to blame such an one and such another. Ἵσχυέσθαι is much stronger than δέ, being equal to but I am sure. Ἵσχυέσθαι. Generals even in the present time are given to this and if history be impartial, the events of the late years will fix some who deserve to be handed down to posterity as well as Chares. The Αἱ Χάρηςτος ὑποσχέσεις being a proverb as we learn from SAUPPE ad ZENOB. ii. 13.

"Ἡγῆται... ἀθλίων ἀπομισθων ξένων.] The general leads miserable mercenaries without pay. Ἀπομισθῶν is elsewhere used in the sense of emeriti, paid off. DEM. p. 671. Ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἀπομισθῶν γίγνεται παρὰ τοῦ Τιμοθέου; and in the present meaning by Xen. HELL. vi. 2. REISKE would read ἡττῆται, on the authority of some half dozen manuscripts, and he gives as explanation: "The general is said ἡττᾶσθαι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, who is in the power of the soldiers, who cannot deny anything to them, who can do nothing with them, since he must endure their slights, connive at all their crimes and misdeeds, because he has neither money to pay them nor hire others." But SCHÆFER says, "I would approve of Reiske's interpretation, if another epithet were applied to the soldiers, such as ἀκολάστων, ὑβριζόντων. But this inclines me to use ἡγῆται."

Οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν... ὧσιν.] And your orators here will lie to you without any difficulty, about whatever he may do elsewhere. It was the usual custom to have an orator in the pay of a general to praise him and support his actions. Ὅτι ἂν τύχητε. Vote at random on whatever you hear.

Τί καὶ χρή προσδοκᾶν;] What, then, can you expect? Quid quaeso, expectandum est? WOLF. I cannot illustrate this passage better than by quoting the following from JELF. 760, 2. Quid τί χρή λέγειν interrogat is, quid dici, non, an aliquid dici debeat

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auerit; sed qui τὴν καὶ χρὴ λέγειν, is non solum quid, sed etiam in aliquid dicendum sit, dubitat (plene: quid dicendum est, si minime aliquid dicendum est?) HENR. ad VI. 837. In EUG. HENR. 1873, Ponsou remarks on πῶς καὶ: Copula solet, interrogativis, τίς, πῶς, ποῖ, ποῦ, ποῖος, postpositi.

[Μάρτυρας] At p. 47 he calls them ἐπόπτας. See note. Δικασταί. As mentioned in a previous note, all public officers had to submit to an examination of their accounts and conduct on retirement from office. Of course all could not be dicasts—since there was a regular court, as before explained, but it might come before them.

Νῦν δ' εἰς τοῦθ' αἰσχύνης.] But now your affairs have become involved in such disgrace τῶν στρατηγῶν. They did not punish their enemies in war, but exerted their best energies to condemn their generals in peace, since impeachment and trial for life awaited every unsuccessful general. SATYRUS mentions the following generals as having been several times accused: Chares, Antiochus, Ephiodotus, Leosthenes, Callisthenes. In addition to these see the trials of Iphicrates and Timotheus, in GROTE, ch. lxxvi. and in the subsequent period of Phocion, ch. xcvii.

Ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν προσήκοντος.] Instead of falling fighting bravely at the head of their armies, (τοῦ προσήκοντος) they return home to end their life in ignominy, like kidnappers and cutpurses, as we learn what the punishment of such persons was: τοῦτοις θάνατος ἐστιν ἡ ζημία.—FRANKE.

[Κακούργου] Gen. after ἔστιν. For the person or thing to which some quality belongs, or is essential to, is put in the genitive after εἶναι. See SOPH. EL. 1054, Πολλὰς ἀγνοίας (ἔστι). HER. i. 107. ὁ πόρου ἡσυχίου ἐστι. In Latin the construction is the same. LIV. xlviii. 3, 4. Dolopes Aelorum nunquam fuerant: Philippi erant.

[Page 12.]

[τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν] The Thebans were envied and hated by the Athenians for their aggressions in Eubœa, and by the Lacedæmonians, who could never forget Leuctra and Megalopolis. Any attack upon Thebes then by Philip would not be regarded with

[Page 12.]

alarm by the Spartans, who were not violently opposed to him nor by the Athenians, as it promised them a little delay.

Τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν.] *The dissolution of the republics.* WOODHEAD explains this by establishing oligarchies, or tyrannies, in their stead. Nam hæc fuit Græcorum ratio: reges urbes gubernari à singulis: oligarchici, ut Lacedæmonii à paucis: democratici, ut Athenienses à multis, hoc est, à plebe, voluerunt. Hoc est illud quod Thuc. i. 62. Τὸν Λακεδαιμονίους βούλεσθαι τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπιτηδεύειν σφίσι αὐτοῖς πολιτεύεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὀλιγαρχεῖσθαι.

Ὡς βασιλέα.] *To the King.* Ὡς for εἰς, an Atticism of frequent occurrence. PORSON, ad EUR. PHŒN. 1416, lays it down as a rule that ὥς can be used for εἰς only before persons, and gives as the earliest example of its use, HOM. OD. xvii. 218, ὥς αἰεὶ τὸν ὄμιον ἄγει θεὸς ὥς τὸν ὄμιον. Some of the German commentators have attempted to disprove this, but without avail.

Ἐν Ἰαλυριοῖς.] Illyria was conquered by Philip in B. C. 356, on his defeat of Bardylis near lake Bermius, and soon after, the Epirotes tendered submission, which was accepted on condition of giving up all eastward of Lake Lychnitis.

Λόγους πλάττοντες.] *Fabricating stories.* Cf. SOPH. AJAX. 101. Λόγους ψιθύρους πλάττων. Ἐκαστος joined with a plural verb. This is called the σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος. The whole is put in the nominative, and the distributive is put in apposition with several parts. Cf. OD. i. 424. Δὴ τότε κακκείοντες ἔβαν οἴκα ἐκαστος. ACTS ii. 6. Ἦκουον ἕκαστος εἰς, τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ. Similarly, Quisque in Latin. ÆN. vi. 743. Quisque suos patit Manes. TAC. HIST. ii. 44. Suum quisque flagitium aliis imputant et rejectantes.

Μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει.] *Intoxicated with the greatness of his notions.* THOM. MAGISTER remarks that μεθύειν is used in various meanings besides that of being made so by wine. And of this we now adduce a few examples. Τῆς ἐλευθερίας μεθύειν. THUC. i. 62. D. Ἐρωτὶ μεθύειν. ANACR. 17. Ebruius jam sanguine citius et tanto magis eum sitiens. PLIN. Quidlibet impotens spernit fortunaque dulci ebria. HOR. xxxvii. Bk. 1.

At which my soul aches to think,
Intoxicated with eternity.—BYRON.

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Οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δῖ' . . . ἐκεῖνος.] Nor indeed, in very truth, does
so choose to act, that the silliest among us may know what he is
about to do. The words after these are expunged by the index of
Lambinus. REISKE. The genetal idea is that Philip would not
like to have his subsequent actions thus talked about by these silly
babblers. Οὐ μέντοι γε.] These words are used here in an ironi-
cal sense to signify that although what has gone before may be
true, still, nevertheless, &c. Γέ belongs to the preceding word.
Non tamen certe (HEEM. ad VIGER, 842).

Ἐκεῖνο εἰδῶμεν.] We are fully satisfied of this. Ἐκεῖνο refers
not usually to what follows, as here, whereas ταῦτ' refers to what
has gone before.

Ἀποστερεῖ.] Here construed with two accusatives, as it is also
EX. p. 839, Τὴν τιμὴν ἀποστερεῖ με, whilst on p. 845 it is joined
with the accusative of the person and genitive of the thing. Ἐμὲ
τὸν ἀπάντων ἀποστέρηκε. The allusion is doubtless to the loss of
the Athenian commerce through Philip's war vessels, and the con-
sequent plundering of the allies by him, and the capture of the
most towns of Macedonia. Πολὺν χρόνον. During his whole reign
so far.

Καὶ ἅπανθ' . . . ἡμῖν ἐστί.] And that all things, which we once
ought any one would do for us, have been found against us, and
the future is in our own hands, &c. I see no reason for making
this sentence refer to Philip more than anybody else. It seems to
be a general expression of dissatisfaction at the continuous ill-suc-
cesses of Athens. Nor do I think that ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ is nominative to
σηταί, as AUGER advises, but rather ἅπανθ. "I know not if this
refers to Philip, or some Persian general or satrap; but many
things occur in Greek and Latin writers, where it is better to agree
with the words of the orator himself, rather than to follow up use-
less conjectures." WOLF. It refers to all the parties who had in
any way acted as Demosthenes here complains of. Τὰ λοιπὰ
ἡμῖν ἐστί. Let us not trust these fellows again, but act like men,
and all will be well. If not, we must fight at home, if we are too
negligent to do so abroad.

Τὰ δέοντ' . . . ἀπηλλαγμένοι.] We shall know what ought to

[Page 12.]

be done, and cease our useless discussions. "Αττα used for ἄττα. The form ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες is a poetical form to give emphasis to a simple future. See JELF. 375, 4.

Εγὼ μὲν.] "Tacite opponit alios oratores." VÖMEL. Μὲν alone. The usual close of a course of argument. Μὲν gives emphasis and οὖν refers to the general course of the argument. EUR. PHOEN. 448. Πάλαι μὲν οὖν ὑμνηθὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐρῶ.

Πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην λέγειν.] Did I choose to speak to win your favour. "Οτι μὴ, nisi si quod. HERM. VIGER, 849. Οὐδὲν ὑποστειλόμενος.] With no dissimulation. Cf. OL. i. 14.

Ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν.] And I would wish, that as I know that it is advantageous to you to hear what is best, so I might know that it would profit me speaking for the best.

Νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἀδήλοις γενησομένοις.] But now the event of these things, so far as I am concerned, being unknown. The force of ἐπὶ here is not quite evident, but by a comparison of other passages, we find it to mean, a defining the notion of coincident times, and farther to denote that it is after the events narrated. HERM. VIGER, 850. viii. 65. Ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις ἐλθεῖν. To come after the things were done.

Ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν αἰρούμαι.] The order is ἐπὶ τῷ πεπεισέναι ταῦτα συνοίσειν ὑμῖν ἂν πράξητε, αἰρούμαι λέγειν. Being persuaded that these things will benefit you if you do them, I made up my mind to lay them before you. Nunc quanquam incertum est quidnam hinc consecutus sim, tamen quid persuasum habeo hæc vobis facere utilia fore, hæc loqui aggressus sum. This is Auger's paraphrase of the last sentence, and brings out the meaning of the orator in a fair manner.

Νικήη συνοίσειν.] May that proposition which shall confer the most lasting happiness upon you, prevail. "Quæ victoria omnibus præposita est, facile in concordiam rediretur, et capitalis inimicitiae in summam benevolentiam et mutuum amorem converterentur." WOLF. Cf. the conclusion of OL. iii. and Pro MEGAL. p. 210.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SECOND PHILIPPIC.

This oration was delivered in B.C. 344-3, OL. 109.1, in the Archonship of Lyciscus DIONYSIUS, p. 737. Λυκίσκος, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἐβδόμην τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δημηγοριῶν ἐβόητο πρὸς τὰς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείας, ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος "Ὅταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίνονται." The occasion, as we learn from the introduction of Libanius, was one of some difficulty to the Athenians. Embassies had arrived in Athens, but whence they came for what purpose, does not appear from the oration; still, it can be collected from the history of Philip. About this time, Philip sent ambassadors to the Athenians to complain that they had falsely accused him among the Greeks of having made certain promises, and afterwards having proved false to them, whereas, he says, he never made any promises, and therefore could not have been false; and he asks them for their proofs. Along with these ambassadors, others came from the Argives and Messenians to complain of the Athenians giving their support to the Lacedæmonians, who were attempting to enslave the Peloponnesian cities. The Athenians were at a loss what answer to make to each. They were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, and

looked with distrust upon the union of sentiment between the Argives and Messenians, and Philip. They therefore preferred a union with the former to a seeming community of interest with any of the adherents of the king. Then again, Philip was correct in his statement regarding the promises, for neither in any of his letters to the Athenians, nor in the communications through his ambassadors, was any promise given. The promises had been held out by some Athenians, that if peace were attained, he would protect the Phocians and reduce the insolence of the Thebans. This is the statement of Libanius, and seems sufficiently accurate to meet all the circumstances of the case.

The peace obtained by Philip in 346 was one of the grand turning points in his career. It effectually opened up to him the affairs of the whole Grecian world, and wherever any discontent prevailed his emissaries were sure to foment the disturbance. He appears, as GROTIUS remarks in his xc. chapter, as "the great aggressor of the age." But, in general, his policy was not to resort to open war, but by wiles and stratagems of diplomacy to effect what war could not. In every city where gold could find an entrance there was a philippizing party, and it generally included some of the most eminent men of the state. In Athens, more particularly, was this the case; and here the great traitor was Æschineus supported by Phrynon and Philocrates. They watched the interests of the king, and fomented any disturbance likely to advance his ascendancy in Greece. The Athenians saw in less than one week after the signing of the peace, that Philip was no friend of theirs, and the representations which had gained that peace produced dis-

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trust and resentment against him who had so deceived them. Instead of gaining security and alliance with their powerful neighbour, they saw themselves completely surrounded by his armies, and their enemies rendered more insolent by their disgrace. For not only were they deprived of their right of presiding at the Pythian games and that honour conferred upon Philip, and, in his absence, upon some of his *slaves*, but the right of *προμαντεία*, or first consulting the oracle at Delphi, was also taken away from them and bestowed upon him—PHIL. iii. p. 119; and a direct thrust was given them, when, in spite of their efforts to save, Philip completely abolished, the autonomy of the Phocian cities.

In this oration, then, one of the objects of Demos-thenes is to arouse the anger of the citizens against those men who had so deceived them. And in order the better to induce them to adopt his ideas, he reviews the actions of Philip since he obtained the peace, and then launches out against the perfidious ambassadors the full torrent of his anger at their duplicity and deception. The answers to the ambassadors are not given, nor can we conjecture what was their nature.

Respecting the embassies which were at Athens when this oration was delivered, a few remarks are necessary. We have already stated the opinion of Libanius, and with this Winiewski agrees. He further states that one of the Macedonian envoys was the orator Python mentioned in DE HALONESO, p. 81; and further refers to this occasion the statement in DE COR. p. 272.

Οτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε, τὸν Βυζάντιον, καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὥς ἐν αἰσχύνη ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ

Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῶν ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν, οὐκ εἰς οὐδ' ὑπεχώρησα. From the words employed, the statement may be correct; but we have no means of proving it. The opinion of Dionysius is also given at the commencement of this introduction. The whole tenor of the discourse would hardly seem to warrant the idea of the presence of Macedonian envoys at its delivery. The tone is harsh towards the king, and his aggressions are mentioned in no very complimentary terms. It would hardly be considered in keeping with the character of Demosthenes to suppose that he would hold such language about a king with whom the Athenians were at peace, and in the presence of his envoys, who came according to the received account, to demand explanations for such language when delivered in Peloponnesus.

The presence of Argive and Messenian embassies is quite evident as the whole of the first part of the oration plainly indicates. Sparta had been endeavouring ever since the founding of Megalopolis to recover for herself the territory at that time wrested from her; and Thebes was the enemy whom she had most to fear, she made an attack upon Megalopolis at the time when the power of Onomarchus was greatest, B.C. 352. In this attempt she was unsuccessful, but again in 346 she renewed her aggression. This time, however, she attacked Messene. The Arcadians and Argives at once assumed the quarrel, and marched to the assistance of Messene. By this aid, the Spartans were defeated. But Messene was still afraid, and an embassy was sent to Philip asking aid. He readily promised it, and sent them troops and money, and also intimated to the Spartans that they must resign all claims upon Messene.

καθ' ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. PHIL. ii. p. 69. Athens, warned by the fate of Phocis, employed, the state was fully aroused, and Demosthenes and others were to means of proving sent to counteract the designs of Philip.—DE COR. p. given at the com. 52. The embassy was not successful; but enough had the whole tenor been said by Demosthenes to induce the Peloponnesians warrant the idea to look with less favour upon Philip. The Argives and at its delivery, Messenians sent a counter embassy to Athens to end his aggression, endeavour to detach her from the alliance with Pelopon- nary terms. Iesus, and it is in their presence that Demosthenes g with the charac peaks.

We have already mentioned that one of the objects of Demosthenes in this oration, was to hold up to popular indignation the perfidious ambassadors, by whom so glorious a peace had been concluded. There is a further train of thought which can be traced through it. Demosthenes, by dwelling upon the aggressions of Philip, carefully preparing the minds of his hearers to break the peace with him. And yet he does not directly propose it; he tells them, at the very outset, that nothing is done but speech-making, and his insinuations naturally point to something more than words. Still, recollecting the fate of others who had proposed unpopular, yet salutary measures, he will not move to declare war. The whole object of the oration then, is to supply an answer to the Messenians and Argives; to induce the people to declare war against Philip, and to administer to the traitorous ambassadors a well-merited castigation, and insinuate at the same time, that they ought to be brought to trial.

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NOTES

TO THE

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Περὶ ὧν εἰρήνην.] *Respecting Philip's actions, and in-
fringements of the peace.* Βιδζεται, sc. πράττειν. Βιδζεσθαι some-
times governs the acc. of a neuter pronoun, as in SOPH. ANT. 66.
Βιδζομαι τάδε. *Since I am forced to this*, but in the present in-
stance it has not this force. Παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην. The peace signed
at Phæræ opposite the temple of the Dioscuri in 346, between the
Athenians and Philip.

Δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους.] *Just and generous.* "The orators
in their speeches professed the most unbounded respect for the
common rights of Greece, which are thus considered as applying
to the whole human race. The distinction between Greek and
barbarian precluded the rest of mankind from a just share in this
philanthropy, and hence it is that the *love of their countrymen*
is called by the most extensive term, *love of mankind.*" LELAND.
Λέγειν τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας] *Appear to say what is proper =*
δὲ δέον λέγειν.

Τὸ γινόμενον δ' ἄξιον.] *But nothing that is requisite, so to
speak, is done; nor for which it were worth while to hear them.* The
meaning of this whole passage from the beginning is obviously as
follows: The Athenians listened with approbation to the speeches
made against Philip, and at the same time, being at peace with
him, were most desirous of remaining so. But Demosthenes in
his oration, and also in the THIRD PHILIPPIC, and the *De RES.*
PUBL. seems to have in view the idea of collecting enough evi-
dence to induce them to declare war. Hence his remark that

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nothing had been done that is requisite; which from the general tenor of his speech we are inclined to interpret: *No one has formally moved for war.* Ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν = ὥς φαίνεται, ὡς ἐν λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ὡς τύπῳ περιλαβεῖν. SUIDAS.

Εἰς τοῦτ' πράγματα.] Cf. OL. iii. p. 28. τὰ δὲ πράγματα εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα.

Ἐξελέγχρ' παραβαλόντα.] *May convict Philip of transgressing the peace towards you.* This could easily be done by a consideration of his treatment of the Phocians after the signing of the peace at Pheræ, and his continual interference in the affairs of Thrace. True, these were not included among the allies of Athens, but enough had been done to show that virtually they were so.

Καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι ἐπιβουλεύοντα.] *And plotting against all the Greeks.* The inhabitants of Megalopolis, Messene, and Argos, were soliciting his active coöperation against Sparta, and he sent word that Sparta must renounce all claims to Messene. DE PACE, p. 61. He sent troops to the aid of the oligarchical faction at Elis, and captured Pandosia, Bucheta, and Eluteia, near the Gulf of Ambracia. He deposed Arrhybas, king of the Epirotic Molossians, and attacked Ambracia and Leucas. DEX. FALS. LEC. p. 424. His troops were at Megara and Eretria. He subdivided Thessaly, again overran the Illyrians, Dardanians, and Pæonians, defeated the Thracian king, Cersobleptes, and fully established his influence in the Hellespontine affairs. GROTE, CHAP. XC.

Πάντας τοὺς οὐχὶ λόγοις.] *All who seek their own aggrandizement ought to be hindered by action and deeds, not by words.* Πάντας is the better reading which is then the accusative before κωλύειν. ARNOLD reads πάντες which then stands without a verb. Οὐχὶ. A negative proper; the agreement of the subject and predicate being denied. The form is much stronger than the simple οὐ. Cf. OL. iii. p. 28. Οὐχὶ ταῦτα παρίσταται μοι κ. τ. λ.

Ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες.] Sc. ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα. WOLF. Ἀφίσταμεν, by syncope for ἀφεστήκαμεν. Τούτων refers to ἔργα καὶ πράξεις. Translate: *We the orators refrain from these things, fearing, &c.* The extreme aptitude of the Athenians to impeach any one for

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Συμβαλεῖ
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23. *Τὰ δὲ πρὸς γμάρ*

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things, fearing, &c
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proposing unpopular measures is quite evident from the general history of the people. And even popular measures could not at all times escape the officious interference of some legal Athenian. Compare the account of the impeachment of Philocrates for moving to allow Philip to send a herald and envoy to treat for peace in the early part of B.C. 346 (*ÆSCHIN. contra CTES. p. 63*), and also the impeachment of Apollodorus for diverting the Theoric fund to war purposes. *DEM. contra NEAR. p. 1346.*

τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν.] These words have a double signification; subjective, *odium quo aliquem prosequor*; objective, *odium quod est apud me contra aliquem*. *BREMI*, who further states that the difficulty is in the preposition *πρός*. But Schæfer rightly remarks: *Hanc ambiguitatem non pendere à prepositione πρὸς, sed ipsam per se inesse substantivo ἀπέχθεια, quod nunc activam vim, nunc passivam habet. It occurs in both significations in De Cor. p. 237. Cf. F&LS. LEG. p. 368. Ὑμῖν μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους μείζω, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τὴν χάριν πεποίηκε. The word invidia is similarly used in Latin.*

Ὡς δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ.] Ὡς = quam. However heinous and unbearable they may be. Οἱ καθήμενοι, sc. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οἱ ἀκούοντες. the hearers.

*Ὡς μὲν ἂν συνεῖντε.] For making just speeches and understanding another who may make them. Ὡς si hoc loco finalis particula esset, conjunctivi sequi debebant. Sed orator hoc dicit eo modo, quasi eo genere apparatus, quo justas orationes habere possitis, melius Philippo instructi et parati estis, i. e. ad orationes habendas parati estis. FRANK. Elmsley denies ὥς ἂν finalis in Attic writers at *SOPH. AJAX, 1217.**

*Ἐφ' ὧν ἐστι νῦν.] Which he now aims at. The force of ἐπὶ here is to denote steady continuance in a thing. Cf. *DEM. PHIL. i. p. 42. Ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης γενέσθαι γνώμης—firmiter adherere huic rationi. De REB. CHERS. Μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνοίας τῆς αὐτῆς ὥσπερ νῦν. SOPH. ANT. 1127. Ὡς βιαίως ἔχεται πανδήμιος πόλις ἐπὶ νόσου,* where, however, Musgrave reads *ὕπδ* on account of the construction.*

Συμβαίνει δὲ εἰκός.] And therefore a necessary and perhaps natural result follows. Ἀῆ is frequently used to draw a conclu-

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sion, and sometimes to make a new point in an argument. J. 721. 'Εν οἷς, an explanatory or determinative proposition, often used, like a direct one, asyndetically. This is a very frequent form in PLATO. BREMI.

Δικαιότερα.] Cf. supra δίκαιους λόγους. FRANKÉ explains the words: Eæ orationes dicuntur, quibus jura Atheniensium adversus Philippum defenduntur. The orator therefore tells them, such orations suffice, there is no further trouble. 'Ρῥῆδιον. The copula omitted, which is frequently the case with this word, as also φροῦδον, ἔτοιμον, δύνατον.

Καὶ μὴ προελθόντα. . . . ἀντᾶραι δυνήσόμεθα.] And that passages may no longer escape the notice of us all, and a mighty power may be raised up, which we shall not be able to withstand. 'Ἐπιστῆται μέγεθος δυνάμεως = Ne magnitudo copiarum ingruat, i. e. Tantis copiis et viribus oppugnemur. 'Αντᾶραι, is sometimes transitive, as in THUC. i. 53. "Ὅπλα ἀνταιρόμενοι. iii. 52. Οἱ χεῖρας ἀνταιρομένους; and intransitive in the present instance, as also in OL. ii. p. 25.

'Ο αὐτὸς τρόπος.] The same manner of giving advice. Ne eadem profecto consulendi ratio, quæ prius est adhibenda. LUCCHESINI. 'Ο αὐτὸς τρόπος = eadem ratio; αὐτὸς ὁ τρόπος ratio ipsa. A like usage is observed with πᾶς. HER. ix. 81. πάντα δέκα, ten in all. Δέκα πάντα, ten each; ἡ πᾶσα πόλις, city, as a whole; πᾶσα ἡ πόλις, all the city, and still further πᾶν πόλις, every city.

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Τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ. . . . προαιρετέον.] The best and safest measure to be preferred to the easiest and most agreeable. The words σώσονται must have been used here to excite the attention of the audience, and suggest to them that with Philip now enveloping them in his snares (PHIL. i. p. 43,) they could not be safe. The orator thus catches their attention.

'Ηλίκος ἤδη. . . . Φίλιππος.] What like the power of Philip and what he has made himself master of. 'Ηλίκος. Philip was at this time an Amphictyon, elected in the room of the deposed Perdiccas, and as such might, in case of any necessity, be elected general in an Amphictyonic war against Athens. "Ὅσων.

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[Page 15.]

was now absolute master from the Sinus Corinthiacus to the river
 Hebrus, and northward nearly to the Ister. Besides he held
 Thermopylæ with a garrison. PHIL. iii. p. 119. Cf. ISOC. EPIST.
 and PHILIPPUM, advising him to put himself at the head of Athens,
 Argos, and Sparta, uniting their forces for a general war against
 Persia. Σοὶ δὲ μόνῃ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑπὸ τῆς τυχῆς δεδομένην, πρὸς
 τοῖς τοῖς καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δύναμιν κεκτημένον, ὅσῃ οὐδεὶς τῶν
 ἁλλήνων.

Ἐφ' ὑμᾶς.] = καθ' ὑμᾶς, eis τὸ καταδουλώσασθαι ὑμᾶς. WOLF.
 The orator could give no positive proof that such was the case,
 it was justified in his suspicions.

Δεηθῆναι.] This verb is construed with a gen. of person only,
 as here; or another of the thing, as HER. iii. 157. τῶν ἐδέετο
 ἑαυτῶν. Sometimes an acc. is also joined with it; as THUC. v. 57.
 ἐδέοντο Βοιωτῶν. Cf. De COR. p. 227. Ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων
 ὁμοῦ ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί μοι.

Διὰ βραχέων.] *Paucis (verbis): In few words.* Other forms to
 express the same idea are, ἐν βραχεῖ, ἐν βραχεί. SOPH. EL. 675.
 κατὰ βραχύ. THUC. iv. 90.

Δι' οὗς.] "Vulg. καὶ δι' ὧν. Dedi de meo sensu, καὶ δι' οὗς sc.
 ὁρισμούς." REISK. Ἐμοὶ παρέστηκε προσδοκᾶν.] Παραστηκέναι
 Stat mihi sententia. It has occurred to me to think, &c. Cf.
 L. iii. p. 28. Οὐχὶ ταῦτά παριστάται μοι γινώσκειν. Δι' ὧν.
 The signification of these words is: *the very thing which we use*
as an instrument, whereas δι' οὗς signifies the remote cause which
we look to. VÖMEL.

Βέλτιον.] After this word τῶν ἄλλων is inserted in many edi-
 tions, on which HERMANN remarks, "Nihil est causæ, cur omitta-
 r." I have rejected it with DINDORF and the best English
 editions.

Οἱ θαρβύντες. . . . αὐτῷ.] *Those unterrified persons who trust*
in me, alluding more particularly to Æschines and Philocrates.
θαρβύντες, securi, imperterriti. WOLF. Posterius præstat.
 CUPER. Προσθήσθε, sc. ψῆφον. You may agree with them. The
 word ψῆφον is not added at all times, but we have the full con-
 struction in DEM. p. 1820, προσθέμενοι τὴν ψῆφον; and in ÆSCHE.
 DEM. 735, ψῆφον δ' Ὀρέστη τῇνδ' ἐγὼ προσθήσομαι, and also in

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ΤΙΠΡ. i. 40. The general meaning, *to join or add one's self to*, with the addition of *ψῆφον*, means *to agree with, to give one's vote in favour of*.

Λογίζομαι.] *Reason thus.* Πυλῶν. By the seizure of this pass he secured an entrance into Greece, and the power of determining the Phocian war.

Τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι πραγμάτων.] Τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας, καὶ τῆς διαθέσεως τῶν Πυθίων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ὕλης Φωκίδος. WOLF. *Rerum quæ in Phocensibus gerebantur.* FRANK. Soon after his entering Pylæ, he proclaimed himself the ally of Thebes, DEM. FALS. LEG. p. 369, and destroyed the Phocian towns to the number of twenty-two. FALS. LEG. p. 379.

*Α Θηβαίοις προείλετο.] *He preferred to act in the interest of the Thebans, and not in ours.* In the oration *De Pace*, p. 53, Demosthenes gives the promises upon which Philip was allowed to pass Thermopylæ, after the orator had done all he could to prevent him. FALS. LEG. p. 346. He says, that Philip would protect the Phocians, disperse the Thebans, repeople Thespisæ and Platea, and give the Athenians Eubœa and Oropus in return for Amphipolis. But soon after the passage, he not only proclaimed himself the confederate of Thebes, but restored to them Orchomenos, Coronea and Corsia, and transferred to them a portion of Phocis, and in addition declared that he would follow up the Theban policy in regard to Phocis, and all other matters. FALS. LEG. pp. 365, 369.

*Οτι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν ἐξετάζων.] *Making his calculations with a view to his own aggrandizement, and the reduction of everything under himself, &c.* Οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδέν. *Nor anything that is just.*

*Οτι τῇ μὲν προεῖπθε.] *That to our city, and to principles such as ours, he could neither offer nor perform anything of such a kind, as that, persuaded by it, for your own advantage, you would sacrifice to him any of the other Greeks.* Ἐνδείξατο. *Se ostentaturum esse.* ARNOLD following FRANK. translates this word *would be able to pretend, se nihil ejusmodi ostentare*, i. e. *polliceri, cum tamen præstare nollet.* But this is scarcely the meaning, and I have preferred the interpretation of VÖMEL and SCHÆFER.

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ΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ.] *Justitiam rationem habentes*—Forming a just estimate of what is right. Πάνθ' ἂν προσήκει προορώμενοι, ὅππια quæ decet providentes,—Exercising proper forethought. Ἀντὶ τῶν ταυτοῖς γιγνομένων.] *In return for the services rendered them.* What the services and benefits were has already been stated above.

Ὄχι ὅπως ἀλλὰ καί.] *Non solum non . . . sed etiam.* JELF. 162, 3, c.

Καὶ νῦν ἐδ' ποιεῖ.] *And now having formed the same judgment, he is befriending the Messenians and Argives.* The hatred of these people to Sparta made them not only anxious to unite with Philip against her, but even to prefer his authority to any interference from Sparta. Hence below we find that he had sent money to them, and was even expected there himself, p. 69. Farther from *De PACE*, p. 61, we learn that these same people were hostile to Athens on account of her treating with the Lacedæmonians.

Καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον.] The use of κατὰ here is exceptional. It means *in the case of, about, in regard to* the object of consideration, regarded as lying beneath *under consideration*. Still, however, other examples of this use are found in classical authors. *ARISTOT. de ANIM.* i. 1, Μία μέθοδος κατὰ πάντων, and compare the parallel passage in *De Cor.* p. 300. "Καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ κέρει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Ὀθηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν κάλλιστα." CHÆFER.

Κέρυσθε γὰρ πρόσθαι.] *For you alone of all are adjudged by these very actions of his as not likely to barter the common rights of the Greeks for any advantage to yourselves.* Τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἀλλήνων. WESTERMANN interprets this to refer to the independence of the Greek states secured by the peace of Antalcidas, which was disturbed by the seizure of the Kadmeia by the Lacedæmonians. But it refers with far more likelihood to the absolute freedom enjoyed by them, which they were now too anxious to give up to the Macedonian. *Μηδενὸς ἂν κέρδους πρόσθαι.* *De REB. CHERS.* p. 107. Care must be taken not to understand ἐνεκα in either case. *Est aliquid perdere ut aliud lucreris.* CHÆFER. Κέρδους, χάριτος, ὠφελείας. Genitive of price.

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ὥς ἑτέρως.] ὥς abundat eleganter, et vacat ante ἑτέρως, sicuti quam apud Latinos ante superlativum. WOLF. It is not redundant, but increases the force of the adverb, as if you had said: how different! ut aliter!

Τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογίζομενος.] From a consideration of our previous history.

Ἐξὼν αὐτοῖς. . . . βασιλεῖ.] When they could have ruled the rest of the Greeks provided that they acknowledged the king, &c. ISOCRATES in his Panegyric relates the same fact. "HERODOTUS makes no mention of it so far as I know." WOLF. ὥστε. Conjunctionem expectaveris quæ conditionem exprimat, ἐφ' ᾧ ὥστε, sub ea conditione, ut; ὥστε significat consequentiam. BREMI. Cf. THUC. iv. 23. ὥστε τοὺς ἄνδρας σῶσας, ut cives suos servaret.

Βασιλεῖ.] Dative after ὑπακούειν, which also governs the genitive, as THUC. ὑπακούοντος τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

Ἦνικ' ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τούτων πρόγονος.] Τούτων, sc. Μακεδόνων. Series generis: Amyntas, Alexander, Amyntas, Philippus, Alexander. The circumstances alluded to here are briefly these. After the battle of Salamis, (Sept. 23rd, 480) Xerxes hastened to the Hellespont, and crossed over into Asia Minor, leaving Mardonius with a force of nearly 300,000 men, made up of Persians, Bactrians and Medians, with contingents from other nations. HER. viii. 113. Mardonius marched into Thessaly and there wintered; and in the meantime certain old oracles were revived "that the Athenians and Persians should conquer Lacedæmon." HER. viii. 141. The time seemed opportune to send an envoy to Athens with offers of an equal and independent alliance, HER. viii. 140, and also of the restoration of all that Xerxes had destroyed. The envoy was Alexander of Macedon, who, with the Boeotian leaders, still remained faithful to Mardonius. The answer of Athens was to this effect, HER. viii. 143: "Tell us not that the power of the Mede is greater than ours; we know that too: but we regard freedom more, and will defend it as long as we can. And now tell Mardonius, so long as the sun continues in the course she now does, we never can form alliance with Xerxes." And to Alexander himself they said: "We desire no harm to come to thee, being a guest (πρόξενον) of the Athenians, but for

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act. "HERODOTUS
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the future, bearing such messages as these, show not thyself to the Athenians." Then turning to the Spartan envoys, who came to induce them to remain firm to the cause of Grecian freedom, they, replied, viii. 144: "There is not enough gold anywhere in the earth, nor any territory so abounding in beauty, and fruitfulness, in return for which we could be induced to medize (μηδίζαντες) and enslave Greece, for so long as one Athenian survives, in no way can we form alliance with Xerxes." The answer of the Athenians being conveyed by Alexander to Mardonius, he set his army in motion, and, passing through Bœotia, again appeared before Athens, which was a second time abandoned to the Persians, June, 479. HER. ix. 2, 3. The inhabitants fled to Salamis, and despatched envoys to Sparta for aid. Mardonius sent a Hellespontine Greek, Murychides, to renew the offers of Alexander, and held out the additional inducement to them that he would not ravage their territory. Again his offers were rejected so unanimously that Lycides, an Athenian senator, having alone proposed their acceptance, was set upon by the rest, and stoned to death, ix. 4, 5. Finding them obstinate, and not being able to remain in Attica, Mardonius retreated into Bœotia, and soon after (Sept. 25, 479,) was defeated at Platæa. The Persian power on the same day received another reverse from Cimon, in the famous battle of Mycale.

Τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν.] Alluding to the evacuation of the city and the withdrawal to Salamis, both when Xerxes was advancing in 480 and again in 479. Μετὰ ταῦτα, must refer to both these desertions of the city.

"Α πάντες μὲν ἀεὶ γλίσχονται λέγειν.] Which all are eager to proclaim. Πάντες. These glorious actions have been celebrated among others by PHRYNICHUS in his lost *Phenissæ*, ÆSCH. *Persæ*, ISOCRATES, *Oratio Panegyrica*, c. 27, and chiefly HERODOTUS, Books vi. vii. viii. and ix, who, in his narrative of this very event, uses the verb γλίσχεται, here employed by Demosthenes, viii. 143. 'Αέλιος δ' οὐδὲις εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται.] Yet none could worthily proclaim them. Mr. Kennedy appositely quotes Shaks. Coriol. Act ii. sc. 2. :

I shall lack voice; the deeds of Coriolanus
Should not be uttered feebly.

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For οὐδείς, SCHAEFER prefers οὐδ' εἷς, which is certainly stronger. Not one.

"Ἔστι γὰρ μέζω ἂν εἶποι.] For their deeds are so great that one cannot speak them. "The word λόγῳ is frequently contrasted with ἔργῳ, the former denoting the name, pretext, or appearance, the latter, the reality." BRASSE ad CEd. COL. 781. Cf. POISSON Phœnixæ, 512, and the examples there cited.

Τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίων προγόνους.] Depending upon εὐπλοῖαν τοὺς μὲν τοὺς δέ. The former, fellow-soldiers with the barbarian; the latter, not opposed to them. The Thebans seem to have had an unenviable notoriety among the Greeks on account of their favouring the enemies of their common country. They fought with Mardonius against the Athenians at Plataea. Hæc. ix. 67. And as regards Argos we learn from Hæc. vii. 148, that after much hesitation they consented to join, if the Lacedæmonians would make a truce of thirty years, and allow them to be leaders of one half of the army, stating at the same time that they were entitled to the whole, but would be contented with the half. This having been refused, they remained neutral, alleging as a reason that they could join no Panhellenic levy, unless as chiefs. It is probable even, as Herodotus hints, that they would have preferred the success of Persia to a further aggrandizement of Sparta. Then again in 479 they sent word to Mardonius of the intended march of Pausanias to the aid of the Athenians, in consequence of which he evacuated Athens. GROTE, chap. xxxix. says that some affirmed that the Argives invited the Persians into Greece as a means of protection and vengeance to themselves against Sparta after their defeat by Cleomenes.

'Ἰδία τὸ λυσιτελεῖν ἀγαπήσονται.] Will study their own private interests. 'Αγάπην here has the accusative of equivalent action. 'Ἰδία, dativus commodi. 'Αγάπην is also construed with dative of what causes the emotion, as: ἀγαπᾷ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς, LYSIAS, 192, 26, To be contented with the good things in hand.

'Ἐπὶ τοῖς δίκαιοις.] Upon just principles. Vos neque minister libidinum, neque adjuutores ad injurias. WOLF.

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[Page 16.]

Ἐκείνους ἀντ' ὑμῶν ἀπεῖται.] Both then and now he selects them instead of you. Τότε "relates to the period before the peace. The words καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν, and others of a like character, are usually joined with a present tense, SOPH. EL. 676, νῦν τε καὶ τότε ἐνέπω. This is even true if the order of the words be reversed, as "καὶ νῦν θ' ὁμοίως καὶ τότε ἐξαπίσταται." SCHAEFER. Sometimes, however, the tenses vary, but when such is the case the latter is added to strengthen the former, as PLATO. GORGIAS, 43. Ταῦτα ἔλεγον καὶ τότε, καὶ νῦν λέγω. In De CORONA, p. 236, Demosthenes says: "Ἦνερ οὐ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν, καὶ αἰεὶ ὁμολογῶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρειν τοῖς."

Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὑμῖν οὕσας.] For surely he does not find them in possession of more triremes than you. For ὁρᾷ, ὁρᾶν and ὁρῶ are given as readings by REISKE. Again: for οὕσας the common reading is ἐνούσας. WOLF suggested οὕσας or παρούσας. We have given οὕσας with BEKKER, DINDORF, and the best English editions. Thebes, being an inland city, could scarcely have a navy, and in reality had none.

Οὐδ' ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ ἀφέστηκεν.] Nor has he acquired an inland empire, and renounced that of the sea and the maritime cities. The meaning is: "Although he eagerly desires an empire by land, much more does he wish to acquire one by sea—but although he knows you to be the most suitable to acquire it for him, still he distrusts your integrity" WOLF. τῶν ἐμπορίων is governed by ἀφέστηκεν.

Οὐδ' ἀνημυνοῖ.] And makes no mention of the speeches and promises. This verb nearly always governs the genitive, but when it means to retain in the memory, to repeat from memory, &c., it governs the accusative. Τροσχέςσεις. Libanius in the argument of the oration, says Philip denied having ever made any promises which he did not afterwards carry out. If such be the case, Eschines and Philocrates must have invented a strange story for the Athenians, as related by DEM. FALS. Leg. p. 409. He there relates that Philip promised, on condition of obtaining peace, that he would save the Phocians, humble the pride of Thebes, confer benefits on you beyond the value of Amphipolis, and return Eubœa and Oropus." And this is confirmed by the De Pace,

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p. 59. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 346. *Depending upon one hope after another, and upon promises (ὑποσχέσθω);* p. 391. *Nor that there should be witnesses of the promises (ὑποσχέσθων) upon which he obtained the peace.*

Ἐφ' αὐτῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχεν.] *Upon which he obtained the peace.* ARNOLD remarks upon this: "As if the Athenians had dictated to him the terms of peace." Not so. For after the peace had been sworn and the ambassadors had returned to Athens, Demosthenes, being senator that year, made a report of the proceedings of the embassy in presence of a large audience, shewing them the whole proceedings from first to last, laying down his suspicions of Æschines, Philocrates, and Philip, and advising them to send away a fleet to seize Thermopylæ (FALS. LEG. p. 346). The ships were ready at a moment's notice, having been voted in case of any emergency, p. 444. Also ÆSCH. FALS. LEG. p. 33. Demosthenes then means that, *i.e.* the Athenians had not been deceived by false promises, they would not have granted peace.

Ὡς πάντα ταῦτα εἰδώς.] *With a knowledge of these facts; i.e.* Knowing you to be above corruption, and the Thebans and Argives to be venal and possessed of less naval advantages. SCHÆFER connects εἶποι εἰδώς, and says: *Dicat aliquis quod totum rerum hodiernarum statum penitus conspectum habens.*

Ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαιοτέρῳ ἀξιοῦν.] *Quod æquiora postulant.* *Wol.* *Because the demands of the Thebans were more just.* The common reading is δικαιοτέρους, *quod justiores judicant Thebanos, quæ vos.*

καὶ μόνον.] When καὶ is thus added to verbs, adjectives, and indefinites, it has an intensive force. Νῦν. After he had ordered the Lacedæmonians to give up Messene. REISKE.

Μεσσήνην.] The wars of Sparta to acquire this territory, and the persistency she showed in refusing the autonomy of the city of Messen are well known. On two separate occasions, after the battles of Leuctra and Martinea, she refused to make peace on that were a condition. (XEN. HELLEN. vii. 4; DIOD. xv. 89.) In fact, it was too galling to Sparta to acknowledge a people sprung from her own Helots, and a city founded as a memorial of her defeat. Yet all the allies of Sparta in her wars against Thebes

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would have acknowledged the city, and it was even made a matter of Athenian foreign policy. DEM. *pro MEGAL.* pp. 204, 206. That Philip should now order them to give up all claim against the city, must have been violently opposed by them.

‘Ορχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν.] These cities had always been autonomous, and Thebes had no right to them, except the right of the strongest.

Τὰ δίκαια σκήψαιτο.] *Could he allege by way of excuse that he had done these things from a conviction of justice? Cf. for a similar meaning of σκήπτειν, HER. vii. 28. Οὐδὲ σκήψομαι τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι τὴν ἔμενοντοῦ οὐσίην.* The grammarians explain this verb by προφασίζεσθαι. “The Lacedæmonians might contend that they possessed a prescriptive right to Messene; whereas the Thebans could only plead their desire to obtain Orchomenos and Coronea.” JACOBS.

‘Αλλ’ ἐβιδόσθη, καὶ παρὰ γνώμην συνεχώρησε ταῦτα.] *But he was compelled by force, and yielded these things against his will.* Not a supposed objection, as Arnold declares, but an actual representation, as we learn from *De Pace*, p. 62. Φίλιππον τοίνυν τινὲς μὲν δῆπου τολμῶσι λέγειν ὡς οὐδ’ ἐβούλετο ἀλλ’ ἡναγκάσθη. And we may conclude that Æschines would invent such an excuse to palliate his previous representations of Philip's intentions. τῶν Θετταλῶν ληφθεῖς.] *Being surrounded by Thessalian horse and Theban infantry.* The Thebans and Thessalians always regarded Philip with friendly feelings; the former, ever since his residence among them; the latter, since the time when he subdued Onomarchus and Lycophron of Pheræ. Both had been favourable during the Phocian War. ‘Ιππέων. “The Thessalian cavalry was famous, the country being well adapted for breeding horses. It consisted of above 3,000 men and even that number could, as XENOPHON (*HELLEN.* vi. 1, 8) tells, be doubled in times of danger.” ARNOLD.

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‘Τρόπας ἔχειν.] *For ὑποπτεύειν, suspectum habere, diffidere.* The Thebans were an object of envy to the Athenians, and any news tending to a reduction of the Boeotian city was eagerly received. Cf. PHIL. i. p. 54. Πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν.

to fortify Elatea. The
 Phocis, and next to Delphi
 fertile valley near the
 pass from Thessaly into
 Phocian towns destroyed
 the War. Philip did not
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 339, he seized the town
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 monians. This was even
 C. 344-3) expected
 revealed his object unde-
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 Appia querantur, taceant de curia?
 DEM. De Cor. p.
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destroy the Lacedæmonians, being enemies of the Thebans, and is he
 about to protect the Thebans, whom he formerly destroyed? An-
 answer to those who said he was compelled to do in Phocis, what
 he would not have wished, by the Thebans. He shews the ab-
 surdity of that by his present acts. "Οντας Hoc loco mag-
 nam vim habet, significat eminere existeret, oppositum οὐς ἀπώλεσεν.
 BREMI. 'Απώλεσεν. DEM. de FALS. LEG. p. 361, describes the ap-
 pearance of the country after Philip had destroyed its towns:
 Οἰκίας κατεσκαμμένας, τείχη περιηρημένα, χώραν ἔρημον τῶν ἐν
 ἡλικίᾳ, γυναῖκα δὲ καὶ παιδάρια ὀλιγά, καὶ πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους οἰκ-
 τρους οὐδ' ἂν εἰς δύναϊτ' ἐφίκεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν νῦν
 ὄντων.

Kal τίς ἂν. . . . πιστεύσειεν.] And who, pray, could believe this?
 Kal is thus elegantly used to introduce some inconsequence in
 the question. ARNOLD. Cf. CIC. MILO. 33, Et sunt qui de via
 Appia querantur, taceant de curia?

'Εγὼ μὲν οὐδ' ἂν. . . . ἐναντιοῦσθαι.] For I, for my part, do not
 think that Philip would continually oppose the enemies of the The-
 bans, even if he had acted so at first much against his will, and were
 now beginning to give them up in despair. The first ἂν belongs to
 ἐναντιοῦσθαι, JELF. 405, 2, and is then repeated (epanaleptically)
 as is often done, with one of the οὐτε's. ARNOLD. 'Εγὼ μὲν =

'Εκ προαιρέσεως.] Used adverbially ex instituto. Cf. p. 1097,
 ἀλλ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως καὶ βουλῆσεως γίνονται.

'Εκ πάντων δ' συντάττων.] And upon the whole, if any
 one take a correct view of the matter, everything he takes in hand,
 cunningly moulds in opposition to our city. Συντάττων, adjungit
 socios, per quos nos oppugnet.

Πραγματεύεται.] i. e., δηλός ἐστι πραγματευόμενος, deprehendi-
 tur, si quis recte reputet, eum omnia machinari in fraudem reipub-
 licæ. REISKE. The whole course of Philip's policy from his cap-
 ture of Amphipolis till the fatal defeat at Cheronæa, only showed
 too truly the correctness of this declaration of Demosthenes.
 Νῦν γε δῆ.] Now at least, nunc certe quidem, whatever it may
 have been formerly. ARNOLD.

Τούτου δ' ὅμῳ.] And he has persuaded himself that you

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alone are opposed to this, to his desire of absolute dominion. SCHAEFER reads here *ὑπειληφώς, quia sibi persuasit*, and removes the full point at *ὑμᾶς*.

Καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς . . . ἐαυτῷ.] *And he knows this best in his own mind.* On this whole passage cf. the speech of Caius Memmius in SALL. JUG. Chap. xxxi. *Nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quæ spes est? Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse: facere illi injurias, vos prohibere, postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam diversis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse?*

Οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν, ὑμετέροις τοῦτοις] = *τούτοις ἃ ὄντα ὑμέτερος ἔχει*, οἷς being attracted into the case of the antecedent. *For by his retaining what belongs to you, he has easily become possessed of all else.* Amphipolis and Potidæa were the *ἐπιτεχίσματα* of Athens against Macedon.

Οὐδ' ἂν οἴκοι ἤγειτο.] *He could not think that he was firmly seated at home.* Οἴκοι. In Macedonia. *Ne domi quidem iute posse manere duceret.* WOLF.

Δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν μισεῖν.] *He thinks you must justly hate him.* The common reading is *νομίζει*. REISKI gives this reading, and remarks upon it: *Nam ἂν neque ad istud, neque ad hoc refertur sed ad μισεῖν, existimat vos, se si exosi sitis, meritum odii Παρώξυνται.* *He is goaded on. Πείσεσθαι τι.* *He will suffer some calamity.*

* Ἄν μὴ πρότερος.] *Unless he first prevent you.* Cf. PHIL. i. p. 43, *μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε*. The participle is joined with *φθάσω*, to express the antecedent or coincident notion to which the action of the verb relates. JELF. 693.

Διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέστηκεν.] *On this account he is awake he is on the alert.* Ἐγρήγορεν. 2nd 1st ed. Ind.—the present being Attic. This passage is cited by Minucianus, who connects *ἐφέστηκεν* with *ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει*. But it is better to connect it with *θεραπεύει*, and understand with *ἐφέστηκεν, τοῖς πράγμασιν, τοῖς κατὰ τῆς πόλεως καιροῖς*. REISKE. Ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει *θεραπεύει*. *Alios ambit, colit, promeretur, quo reipublicæ nostræ nocent.* *Nourishes them against the city.*

Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ταῦτ' αὐτὰ βουλομένους τοῦτοις.] *And of Peloponnesians those who are minded to do these things to you.*

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[Page 17.]

Peloponnestans, desiring the same things as they, i. e. the Thebans. Some of the tribes of Peloponnesus began to be suspicious of Athens on account of her dealings with Sparta, and in consequence allied themselves to Philip. Demosthenes, by his embassy to the Megalopolitans and others, may have increased this feeling, for they imagined that not to hate Sparta was to be her ally.

Διὰ δὲ σκαϊότητα προβέσθαι.] *And from dullness of understanding will foresee none of the results.* I can hardly understand this of the Thebans, or why SMEAD should here quote HORACE: *Bæotum in crasso jurares aere natum*, EP. ii. i. 244. It is evident from the context that the words refer not only to the Thebans but also to the partisans of Philip in Peloponnesus.

Καίτοι ἰδεῖν.] *And yet those who have any discernment may see tolerably plain examples.* *Α καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους, εἰπεῖν συνέβη. Which fell to my lot to mention to the Messenians and Argives. This embassy of Demosthenes to Peloponnesus is involved in some obscurity. From *De Cor.* p. 252, we learn that Demosthenes proposed an embassy to that country when Philip first clandestinely made attempts against it; ὅτε πρῶτον αὐκείνος παρεδύετο. As nearly as can be determined this must have been in the Archonship of Eubulus, OL. 108, 4. There is another embassy mentioned in the Third Philippic, p. 129, which is there stated to have taken place the year before (πέρυσσι). It is evident that this one cannot here be alluded to. On the whole, then, we may conclude that Demosthenes went on the embassy proposed by himself, of which mention is made in the *De Corona*, and that there were two embassies to the Peloponnesus.

Πᾶς γὰρ Ὀλυνθίους.] *For I said, how impatiently, think you, would the Olynthians listen.* γὰρ refers to ἔφην, and ἀκούειν, ποσδοκᾶν are to be considered the imperfect infinitives. ARNOLD.

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Εἴ τις τι λέγοι.] *Si quid quisquam dixisset.* REISKE. *If any one had said anything.* Κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους. *During that particular time.* Κατὰ in such cases signifies *at*. THUC. i. 32. Κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον. HER. iii. 131. Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον.

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Ἀνθεμοῦντα.] Demosthenes here is his own historian. Anthemus lay between Olynthus and Therna, and is supposed from its connection here with Potidæa to have been ceded to Olynthus by Philip during the years of the Social War against Athens. This cession of territory by Macedonian kings was not unusual. Perdiccas II. had ceded to these same Olynthians a portion of his territory near Lake Bolbe, in the neighbourhood of Olynthus. THUC. i. 58.

Βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο.] Both HER. v. 94, and THUC. ii. 99, speak of this city as belonging to the Macedonians. ΠोटΙΔΑΙΑΝ. Supposed to have been ceded to Olynthus at the time when, having been refused a treaty with Athens, they formed one with Philip. This was during the continuance of the Social War. B.C. 358-355. The precise date is given as OL. 105, 4.

Ἀποίκους.] *Emigrants. ἐποίκους. Settlers.* ARNOLD, in a note to THUC. ii. 27, says, "Men are ἀποικοί with respect to their old home, and ἐποικοί with respect to their new one. This is the simplest and most probable way of stating the distinction between these words, and I am confirmed in it by the authority of KRICGER's note on DIONYSIUS, p. 101." The same distinction holds in the words *emigrants* and *immigrants*. These ἀποικοί are often called κληροῦχοι, *men to whom a conquered territory is assigned by law*. Cf. on this extrusion of the Athenian citizens from Potidæa. DE HALON, p. 79.

Ἡμᾶς.] WOLF says, I prefer ἡμᾶς, and REISKE adds: Non enim hic alloquitur Athenienses Demosthenes, sed Messenios. Ad eam itaque de Atheniensibus prædicantem in consentaneum sit res usurpare, ubi res nos requirit.

Ἡ λέγοντος ἔν τινος πιστεῦσαι οἴεσθε;] Or do you think they would have believed anybody if he told them so? Ἄν is joined with πιστεῦσαι and λέγοντός τινος is the gen. abs. "Nor must we exclude those instances where the gen. abs. is joined with a verb which requires the dative, but in this construction is used without a case; as DEM. p. 71, where we might also say ἡ λέγοντος τινι πιστεῦσαι." JELF. 710, Obs. 1.

Μικρὸν χρόνον στέρονται.] For a short time having enjoyed the territory of another, long are they deprived of their own by it

ἔα. Πολύ upon the independ. (πολύ) se. The allusion by P. Oὐ κρατ. but also doubtless thian cave. 426. DIO. Oὐ γὰρ ἀ with tyrants of this not so much proposed u. i. p. 10. K. 'Ορ' αὐτο tyrants for others of The. σίαν. Nicæ by the Pho. give them Philip passe. rison. DEM. The city wa. Esch. FALS. what time i. with certain Magnesia. Pagasean G. this name is APOLLON. RE. μώνυμος. T. p. 15, καλ. ment is made Δικαρχία

vn historian. And is supposed from ceeded to Olynthus ar against Athens. was not unusual. ans a portion of his hood of Olynthus.

and THUC. ii. 99. onians. Ποτίδαια. he time when, hav- y formed one with of the Social War. OL. 105, '4.

ARNOLD, in a nob respect to their old w one. This is the distinction between authority of Κνήκων. nction holds in the υκοί are often called y is assigned by the ens from Potidaea

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ἔκ. Πολύν. "The orator is here a bad prophet, as he reckons upon the final defeat of Philip, and the restoration of Olynthian independence by the Athenian confederacy, though after a long (πολύν) servitude." ARNOLD. This appears to me hardly correct. The allusion seems entirely to the Olynthians and their subjugation by Philip.

Οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον.....καὶ πρᾶθέντες.] *Not only subdued, but also betrayed and sold by each other.* The reference here is doubtless to Lasthenes and Euthyrates, who betrayed the Olynthian cavalry, and thus led to the fall of the city. FALS. LEG. p. 426. DIODOR. xvi. 53.

Οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς.....δουλῆαι.] *For these too intimate alliances with tyrants are not safe to free constitutions.* On the construction of this sentence see JELF. 590, Obs. 1. The allusion here is not so much to the union of Philip and Olynthus, as to the now proposed union between the Messenians and Macedon. Cf. OL. i. p. 10. Καὶ ὅλως ἀπιστον, οἶμαι, ταῖς πολιταῖς ἢ τυραννίς.

Ἄν' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλεν.] *When he cast out the tyrants for them.* Τυράννους. Peitholaus and Lycophron, brothers of Thebe, wife of Alexander of Pheræ. Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν. Nicæa was captured, together with Alponus and Thronium, by the Phocians, in the Sacred War, and the envoys offered to give them to Athens, which was rejected by Phalæcus. After Philip passed Thermopylæ in 346 he occupied Nicæa with a garrison. DEM. EPIST. ad PHIL. p. 153. Νικαίαν μὲν φρουρὰ κατέχων. The city was near the pass of Thermopylæ, and is mentioned by ÆSCH. FALS. LEG. p. 286, as one of the keys of that pass. At what time it was given back to the Thessalians is not known with certainty.

Magnesia is a long narrow strip of land from the Peneus to the Pagasean Gulf, along the eastern coast of Thessaly. No town of this name is mentioned by Strabo or Scylax, but the Scholiast on APOLLON. RHOD. i. 584, mentions it. Μαγνησία δὲ πόλις χώρα ἡμάννυμος. The Thessalians prevented Philip fortifying it, OL. i. p. 15, καὶ Μαγνησίαν κεκωλύκασιν τειχίζειν. A different statement is made in OL. ii. p. 21. Ἀκαδαρχίαν.] This word has introduced a most abundant

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... accepted it as
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fecerunt. "Thes-
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 " REISKE. From
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same family, but let us see what HARPOCRATION says of him. *One of those appointed by Philip rulers of ALL Thessaly.* Εἰς δὲ ἐστὶν αὗτος τῶν κατασταθέντων ὑπὸ Φιλίππου κυρίων Θετταλίας ἀπάσης. Now if Philip established tetrarchs in Thessaly we cannot prove that Eudicus was not one of them, but in any case a tetrarch could not be called a ruler of *all Thessaly*. I have thus attempted to establish what JACOBS describes as difficult to prove, and I hope this explanation will go some way in further establishing the views of VÖGEL.

Τὸν τὴν Πύλααν ἀποδόντα. παραήσασθαι.] *Or that he who restored the meeting at Pylæ would take away their revenues.* Cf. de PACE p. 63. Οἱ Θετταλοὶ. τῆς πυλάας δ' ἐπεθύμουν καὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς, πλεονεκτημάτων δυοῖν, κύριοι γενέσθαι. It is well known that there were two annual meetings of the Amphictyons, one in the autumn at Pylæ, and the other in the spring at Delphi. Now ever since the temple at Delphi had been seized by Philomelus at the outbreak of the Sacred War, the Thessalians and other enemies of Phocis had been interdicted the use of it, and the autumn meeting had been dispensed with. After the peace of 346, Philip restored this meeting, and the Thessalians were at the same time allowed to visit Delphi as formerly. Προσδοῦς. On the forfeiture of these revenues to Philip see OL. i. p. 15. He still further secured them by placing a garrison at Pagasæ.

Θεωπεῖρε] WOLF and SCHÆFER consider this as the Imp. mood, but I prefer ARNOLD's interpretation in the Ind. *You behold Philip as a dispenser of gifts and promises.* When he is at a distance he is all promises and suavity, for such is the force of *θεωπεῖν*, whereas ἰδεῖν implies that they are to guard against knowing him personally, from a closer union with him. For Demosthenes, and, in fact, all Greece knew his promises to each of the embassies from Phocis, Peloponnesus, Thebes, and Athens previous to the year 346, and they knew, too, his performance of them. Cf. DEM. PHIL. iii. p. 117. FALS. LEG. p. 385.

Ἐν δὲ τι κοινὸν. φυλακτήριον.] *But the nature of sensible men possesses in itself one common safeguard.* ARISTIDES, the oratorician, praises the manner in which Demosthenes approaches this common safeguard. REISKE.

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Τοῖς πλῆθεσι.] *Democracies*, same as πολιτείας supra. Cf. HER. iii. 81.

Ταύτης ἀντέχεσθε.] *Hold firm by this*. Cf. De CORONA, 'Αντέχεσθαι τῆς ἐαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας.

Οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε.] *Verendum non est, ne malum accipiatis*. There is no fear that you will receive an injury. REISKÉ's reading is οὐδὲν δεινὸν (*nil est verendum*), μὴ τι πάθητε. Facile τι concursu cum π. potuit excidere, id quod sæpissime factum observavi.

Εἴτ' οὐχ ὁρᾶτε.....ἔχοντα.] *Then look not to Philip, whose very titles are most foreign to this*. Εἴτα and ἔπειτα, in expressions implying irony, reluctance, astonishment, are used to express that something unexpected results from what has gone before. JELF. 874, 6.

Βασιλεὺς.....ἔχθρὸς ἐλευθερίᾳ.] A rhetorical exaggeration, as the comparative weakness of the Kings of Sparta might show. ARNOLD. Yet it might be strictly true of Philip, whom Demosthenes here was aiming at. Νόμοις ἐναντίος. ISOCRATES. Παρενόμοιοι: ἰσχυρότατος νόμος ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τρόπος. WOLF.

[Page 19.]

Θορυβούντες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγεται.] *Declaring with shouts of applause that these things were rightly spoken*. Cf. DE REV. CHERS. p. 81. Θορυβεῖτε ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγει. Πολλοὺς ἐτέρους λόγους. Multasque alias orationes. Many other speeches, &c. Παρὰ τῶν πρέσβων, legatis, nempe, ab iis qui una cum Demosthene ad Messenios legationes fuerant, et quos Demosthenes illie reliquit prius discedens causa causam nobis ignotam. AUGER.

Καὶ πάλιν ὕστερον.] *After the departure of Demosthenes, who may have had to visit other cities in Peloponnesus and elsewhere*. Ὡς ἔοικεν. VEMEL removes the comma after these words, thus connecting them with what follows, and Mr. Kennedy, in his translation, does the same; on which method of construction SMITH remarks: "This and similar parenthetical expressions with a refer, especially in the orators, to something preceding."

Παρ' ᾧ.....ὀρᾶσι.] *In opposition to what their best reason may approve, i. e. against their convictions*. 'Αλλ' ὑμεῖς.....ἤμαρ. But you, who both know yourselves, and hear from the orators, &c.

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A German critic translates *vos ipsi, qui et ipsi intelligitis et ex oratoribus auditis*, &c. Observe the contrast between the comparative ignorance of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, who prided themselves on their knowledge, and of consequence despised all others.

Περὶστοιχίζεσθε.] Cf. PHIL. i. p. 43. The common reading is *περιτειχίζεσθε*, on which REISKE remarks: Illa significat: committitis, ut velut indagine clau limini; hæc: patimini vobis arces imponi, quæ vos in officio continent.

Ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἤδη ποιεῖν. . . . ὑπομείναντες.] *From your doing nothing now, you will unawares be brought to undergo, in my opinion, all these things.* In this passage there are various readings. SCHÆFER and HARRISON have: *ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν*. WOLF regards *ὡς* as having been incautiously added by the transcribers of the manuscript by the two which precede. He therefore omits it, and is followed by REISKE and DINDORF. ARNOLD here reads *ὥστε μηδὲν ἤδη ποιῆσαι*, his authority being BAITER and SAUPPE's edition, who collated from the codex Σ. The weight of authority will favour *ποιῆσαι*, but for *ὥστε* no valid reason is given. ARNOLD's note is: "*ὥστε. . . ποιῆσαι. On condition of doing nothing at present; if you may but do nothing at present; the aor. inf. to exclude any single act. (VEM. reads ποιεῖν.)* BAITER and SAUPPE have adopted this reading from the best manuscript (Σ). There are, however, many various readings: F. and Wst. read *ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ποιῆσαι*, *from having done nothing, &c.*" Πάντα is opposed to μηδὲν.

Ἡ παραινίς ἡδονή. . . . μέλλοντος.] *The present ease and indulgence prevail over future advantage.* Another strong denunciation of the unwillingness of the Athenians to incur personal service.

Καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς.] *By yourselves.* From this we are to understand that the orator was not prepared to state the things he would advise in the presence of the foreign ambassadors.

Αἰεὶ νῦν. . . ἡδὲ λέξω.] *Quæ vero nunc respondeatis necessaria creveritis, ea scilicet dicam.* WOLF. I will now state to you the answer which I think it is proper for you to decree. This answer, however, is not here given, although from the words employed it

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is to be expected. Nor can we form a very accurate idea of its nature. This difficulty is variously explained by commentators, but the more rational conjecture is that the γραμματεὺς was here called upon by Demosthenes, to read a draft of the resolution or answer proposed. In accordance with this view I have retained with DINDORF the word ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ.

Τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας τὰς ὑποσχέσεις.] *Those who reported the promises.* The allusion seems to be to Æschines and Philocrates, and perhaps to Ctesiphon and Aristodemus the actor. What these promises were we have already stated.

Οὐτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἂν ποτε ὑπέμεινα πρεσβεῖν.] Demosthenes had served with great reluctance upon the embassy to Philip to obtain the oaths, and he affirms that he should not have gone if he had not promised to ransom some Athenians taken captive at Olynthus; that on this embassy he detected the treason of certain of the envoys above mentioned, and that Æschines was night and day with Philip; that he had written a letter to the Athenian people giving an account of the state of affairs; that he was prevented sending it, and that his colleagues sent a letter containing false information; that he did not desire to stay, and further, having hired a ship to convey him home, he was not allowed to depart. FALS. LEG. pp. 357 and 445.

Ἐπάσασθε πολεμοῦντες.] If they had seized the pass of Thermopylæ they might have compelled him to retreat in 346 as he had previously done in 352.

Ἄλλ' ἦν λεγόμενα.] *But what was then reported was very different from what has resulted.*

Τοὺς δ' ἔγω λέγοντας.] *Those who declared, when I, after the peace was made, having come from the second embassy for the oaths, perceiving that the state had been deceived, both gave warning, and protested, and would not allow you to abandon Pylæ and the Phocians. Φενακισμένην.* When the form of treaty was drawn up at Athens, the words were: that Athens and her allies made peace and alliance with Philip and his allies. FALS. LEG. pp. 391. This would have included the town of Halus and the Phocians; and the Macedonian envoys, Parmenio and Antipater, refused to acknowledge them. Then when Philip took the oaths

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Phæræ, they were excluded finally, and the town of Cardia, on the Hellespont, was voted an ally of Philip. By these means Philip gained Thermopylæ and the Chersonese, "two most valuable positions, διὸ χρησιμωτέρους τόπους," FALS. LEG. pp. 355-395. Eschines and Philocrates are alluded to in ἐτέρους.

'Ὡς ἐγὼ. ἄνθρωπος.] That I being a water drinker was naturally a peevish and stubborn fellow. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 355, where Demosthenes himself tells the story: 'Επαναστὰς δ' ὁ Φιλοκράτης μάλα ὕβριστικῶς, οὐδέν, ἔφη, θαυμαστὸν μὴ ταῦτα καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ Δημοσθένει δοκεῖν: οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶνον πίνω. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐγγέλαιτε. "The name water drinker was used by the ancients to indicate a poor spiritless creature, incapable of anything great or generous. Hence HOR. i. Epist. 15. Nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt. Quae scribuntur aquae potioribus." JACOBS. LEBANUS in his life of Demosthenes says, ὕδωρ ἐπετῆδεν πίνειν, ἢ ἀγγυροῦσαν μᾶλλον παρέχεται τὴν διάνοιαν. Among the Greeks it was a proverb, ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοις καλόν.

Θεσπιάς μὲν καὶ Πλαταιάς.] Before the battle of Leuctra, Epaminondas gave notice to such Boeotians as were unfriendly to Thebes to march out of the country. The Thespians, therefore, proceeded to Athens, and there found shelter. They were thus expelled from Boeotia, and their territory annexed to Thebes. PAUS. ix. 13, 3; 14, 1. Plataea had always been favourable to Athens more than to Thebes. The city was destroyed in 417 by the Thebans, and its territory annexed. But at the peace of Antalcidas they were again acknowledged as autonyms. However, certain intrigues between Athens and Plataea being detected, in 372, the Thebans again demolished the city, and expelled the inhabitants, who took refuge at Athens. DIODOR. xv. 46, 47.

Χερρόνησον δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλεσι διορύξει.] And will cut through the Chersonese at his own expense. This project is not mentioned in the De Pace among the conditions there enumerated, but it is noticed in the De HALON. The distance was only thirty-seven stadia from Leuce Acte to Pteleon, and the canal would have completely insulated the Athenian possessions from continental Thrace, and prevented incursions. WOLF quotes an old oracle on this subject: 'Ἰσθμὸς δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε, μήτ' ὀρύσσετε· ὁ Ζεὺς γ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἰ γ' ἐβούλετο.

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Καίπερ ὄντες μεμῆσθαι.] *Although not celebrated for remembering injuries.* Ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι εἰωθότες. WOLF. For a eulogy on the Athenians for their forbearance, see *De Cor.* p. 252.

Καὶ τὸ πάντων αἰσχιστον ἐψηφίσασθε.] *And the most disgraceful of all is, you voted in your confidence that this peace should be binding upon your posterity.* Πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας. Ironical, *ad bene sperandum*. AUGER would interpret *vana spe, vanis promissis decepti*. Ἐκγονοὶ = posteri; ἔγγονοι = nepotes. FRANK. This certainly was short sighted policy for Athens. The basis of the treaty was that each should retain what he then had; thus effectually cutting off all hopes from Athens of ever gaining back what she claimed as her own. Cf. *FALS. LEG.* p. 358. It was Philocrates who moved that the peace should be binding upon their posterity. *FALS. LEG.* p. 356.

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Οὕτω τελῶς ὑπῆχθητε.] *So completely were you deceived.* SCHÆFER hints that πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας ought to be inserted after τελῶς, and not as it stands, and cites as his reason p. 69, *De Pace*. Τοιοῦτας ἐλπίδας καὶ φανακισμοὺς, οἷς ἐπαχθέντες.

Οὐχ ὅς εἰς λοιδόριαν ποιήσω.] *Not that, falling into invectives, I may lay myself open equally to recrimination.* On εἰς λοιδόριαν ἐμπέσω, Cf. *DEM. de Cor.* p. 248. Εἰς λόγους ἐμπέσω. I have followed AUGER, who here translates: *Ce n'est pas pour m'attirer les invectives de mes anciens adversaires, en les invectivant moi-même*. But that the opinions of others may be seen I append a few translations. *Non ut cum conviciatoribus congressus mihi quidem eundem apud vos audientium faciam.* SCHÆFER. *Not that by breaking out into invectives I may expose myself to like treatment.* LELAND. ARNOLD follows JACOBS, and translates: *Not that, by breaking out into invective, I may procure for myself as fair a hearing at your hands as they receive.* But the objection to this is, as Mr. Kennedy remarks, that he translates ἐμαντῶ λόγον ποιήσω, to *gain a hearing for myself*, which sense he says it cannot bear. The expression then would be, λόγον τύχοιμι. WHISTON further remarks on Arnold's interpretation, *I do not see that there is any logical meaning in it.*

Ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρίσχω.] *I may anew afford.* Ἐξ ἀρχῆς usually has

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the meaning of ἀρχῆθεν, from the beginning; as Od. i. 188. Ἡῖνοι πατρώϊοι εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι ἐξ ἀρχῆς. XEN. 'H ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔχθρα.

'ἵνα τὴν ἄλλως ἀδολεσχωῶ.] That I may prate to no purpose. Cf. OL. iii. p. 34. Τὴν ἄλλως λέγειν, frustra dicere. 'Ὡς ἄλλως is the reading here in some manuscripts, on which SCHÆFFER remarks: 'Ὡς ἄλλως satis notabile videtur. 'Ὡς ἄλλως = temere.

'Ἄλλ' οἶμαι. . . . τὰ νυν.] But I am confident that what Philip is doing, will one day grieve you more than it does now. Τὰ νυν] = præsens rerum conditio. BREMI. Τὰ νυν] = At present, now. ARNOLD. WOLF interprets, τὰ νυν] πεπαθήσιασμένα, quam ea quæ nunc a me sunt dicta liberius, τὰ νυν] γινόμενα.

Τὸ γὰρ. . . . προβαῖνον.] Nam video, rem gliscere, serpere, increbrescere, i. e., the designs of Philip against us. Τοῦτο refers to the same thing.

Μηδ' ἀκούθ'. . . . μηδὲ τοῦ δέϊνος.] And when you may not hear from me, nor any other, that these things are preparing against you. WOLF translates: neque ista contra vos parari et strui ex me audistis, aut alio quopiam.

Φοβοῦμαι δὴ. . . . δέδωροδοκηκότας.] I fear that your ambassadors, having been silent upon the very things for which they are conscious of having been bribed. The ambassadors more particularly referred to are Philocrates and Æschines; with perhaps Phrynon, Cleisiphon, and Iatrocles. Διὰ τούτους. By their instrumentality.

Τὰ πολλὰ.] — Plerumque. Often. 'Ενίοις. Referring to the Athenians themselves. Sometimes, however, justice was meted out; and in this very case some of the principal actors afterwards paid the full penalty. Æschines long after retired to Rhodes on the conclusion of the trial of the Crown, and speedier justice fell to the lot of Philocrates, who was more to blame than even he. Being impeached by Hyperides, FALS. LEG. p. 376, not long after the peace, he did not stand his trial. There is no doubt he was deeply tainted with corruption. Demosthenes charges him with buying corn, building houses, importing timber, and changing gold. And further, he is accused of having an estate on the Olynthian territory, yielding him an income of a talent. FALS. LEG. pp. 376, 386. Τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέντας.] Iram effundentes. Discharge your wrath.

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[Συνίσταται.] *Is preparing.* Cf. *De Cor.* p. 245. Ἀγνοία συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων.

[Τίς δ' Φωκίας πέσας.] The allusion of course is to Æschines, who had incurred his displeasure by his Philo-Macedonian actions.

[Ὦν καταστάς . . . γέγωνε.] *By being possessed of which, he has become possessed of the road into Attica and the Peloponnesus.* The possession of this pass was always regarded as the key of central Greece and the Peloponnesus. This and Elateia were now in the power of Philip, and, holding them, he could at any time enter the Grecian states from Thessaly.

[Τῶν δικαίων.] WOLF inserts Ἑλληνικῶν, which is received by many commentators, but rejected by others. The allusion here must be to the rights assured by the peace to all the Greeks; whereas if Ἑλληνικῶν be inserted it will refer to the general hegemony of the Greeks. Τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων. The affairs of the allies of Greece, and her foreign possessions.

[Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.] The day of the peace, June 13th, B.C. 346. Some, from PHIL. iii. p. 115, Ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνείλε Φωκίας κ.τ.λ., would refer the commencement of the war to his seizure of the Phocians, but it is more spirited to refer it to *that day*, which Demosthenes had vainly tried to postpone indefinitely.

[Εἰ γὰρ μὴ . . . πρᾶγμα.] *For if you had not then been duped there would be no difficulty to the city (now).* REISKE has added οὖν in the last clause, which seems to be the correct reading, from the contrast afforded by τότε in the previous clause.

[Οὔτε γὰρ ναυσι . . . κρατήσας.] *For certainly he would not have gained a victory by his fleet, &c.* The Athenians were far superior to him in naval affairs and in the equipments for a fleet. Cf. FALM. LEG. p. 389. Οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ γῆν παρελθὼν οὐκ εὖ νηυσὶ κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἤξειν ἐμελλε.

[Ἡ παραχρῆμ' ἂν ἦν . . . ἐπεθύμησεν.] *Or he would forthwith have been involved in such a war as that which made him the desire peace.* This of course is mere rhetorical flourish. Philip's idea of peace was to gain quiet possession of Thermopylæ; the war gave him very little anxiety.

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Ὅς μὲν ὑπομῆσαι.] JELF. 863 Ὅς δ' ἂν.....μὴ γένοιτο.]
WOLF translates *absit autem, idque cœ omnes prohibeant, ne ex-
periendo certissime comprobentur*. Translate: *May it never be
that these things may be fully proven by what may result*. Cf.
JELF. 810. Also, "ARIST. AV. 1338, γενοίμαν αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτας, ὥς
ἂν παταθῇν, i.e., *ut, si forte, volem, ut volare possim*." FRANKK.

Ὅδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι.] *Non etiam si dignus est qui
pereat. Not even if he deserved to perish*. Cf. DEM. contra MEID.
p. 518. Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ὦν ἀπολωλέναι.

Δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.] *To stand his trial*. Cf. HER. II. 118, Καὶ
οὐκ ἂν δίκαιος αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν. Also DEM. c. ARISTOC. p. 637.
Ὁ δὲ δίκην ὑπέχειν ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν δίκαιός εἰμι.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

THIRD PHILIPPIC.

In the Archonship of Sosigenes, B. C. 342-1, (OL. 109, 3,) Demosthenes delivered two of his most celebrated orations against Philip. The first of these was the oration *On the Affairs of the Chersonese*, delivered, according to DION. HALICARN., in the winter of that year. The second was the one more immediately concerning us, and is known as the THIRD PHILIPPIC. This oration, styled by DION. HALICARN. τὴν μεγίστην τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν, was delivered a few weeks after the *De REB. CHERS.*, and is properly speaking no more than a continuation of the line of argument adopted there. It has come down to us in two different shapes, one much shorter than the other. The shorter form is given in the Codex Parisinus Σ., omitting many passages; and even in it these are written by a different hand in the margin. All other manuscripts have the oration as given in the editions of Demosthenes. Some commentators also would place this oration in the earlier part of the year, before the oration on the Chersonese. On this subject, however, consult DINDORF, *Annot.* vol. v. p. 158. The precise circumstances which led to the delivery of this oration are not known to us, but we can easily form

a conjecture. Philip was engaged in Thrace strengthening and extending his empire at the expense of the princes of that country. He had written a letter requiring the Athenians to recall their general, Diopithes, and notwithstanding all the exertions of the paid orators, the Athenians not only refused to interfere with him, but it appears were likely to send him effectual succour. Philip was not the man to put up with such a state of affairs, and he probably was now attempting to strike a first blow before the expected aid should arrive, and Diopithes thus be further enabled to harass him and maltreat his Thracian allies and possessions. WINIEWSKI hazards a conjecture that an embassy from Chersonese had arrived in consequence of Philip's aggressions, to complain of him, and ask aid and pecuniary assistance, and WHISTON also concurs in this view. But we gain no such information from the oration itself, and although it is probable, still it is not to be received as a fact. All that the oration itself shows, is that the Athenians must now adopt a more vigorous policy, anticipate the king in his forward march against Byzantium, and approve themselves worthy of the high name handed down to them from their ancestors. At the same time we must remember that he was now addressing his countrymen to incite them to attempt an undertaking no less glorious than dangerous. Philip had gone on extending his power ever since the peace of 346, and nearly every one of his conquests had been at the expense of Athens. She was thus reduced in strength, and he in a like ratio increased. Demosthenes urges them to war, cautiously, it is true; yet his words must have stirred the heart of even his dullest hearer, reminding them as he does of what they

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once were and what they now are. His invectives against the time-serving policy of the venal statesmen are most withering, and his strong appeals to the Athenians, enforced by the examples of Olynthus, Oreus and Eretria, are calculated even yet to rouse the mind. How much more must it have inflamed those whose interests are thus vividly painted. He introduces his remarks by inveighing against the fatal character of their politics, which was to hear with applause the flatterer and the courtier, but to banish even the semblance of free speech and solid advice. He shows that Philip under the guise of *peace* has ruined Phocis, and the other places above mentioned, and warns them that his policy is the same towards themselves. Not only is this the case, but he will not declare war against them if under the garb of peace he can as well succeed in his designs. Then giving his hearers the full details of the king's actions, he boldly asks :—Is this the act of a man who is keeping the peace towards you? Nay, rather, is he not even planting his engines against your walls, and has he not been doing so since the day he destroyed the Phocians? This, then, was not the time for deliberating about the safety of the Chersonese or Byzantium alone, but you must so make up your minds, that if such acts continue, the safety of Greece is at stake, and the period is approaching when the Macedonian must rule over the free constitution of Athens. But the orator does not stop here. He reminds them that for seventy years they had enjoyed absolute sway over the Greeks, that Sparta had governed for twenty-nine years, and that Thebes, too, had lately obtained some considerable power. Yet neither Athenian, Spartan, nor Theban had been allowed

such impunity as was conceded to Philip. Things which formerly would have aroused a Hellenic war are now endured quite passively and Philip in consequence has done more injury in his thirteen years of control than was ever inflicted upon Greece by any of her own sons. And yet Philip is no Greek, and in no way allied to Greece; he is not even a barbarian of illustrious origin, but a poor, miserable Macedonian, born in a country whence a decent slave could not be procured. What then, is the cause of all this? For not without cause have such things happened. He reminds them that there was something *then* inherent among them, which was so no longer, something which despised the gold of the Persian, and kept Greece free and untrammelled by land and sea. Nor was this anything which existed once and could not now be obtained. It was nothing but a firm administration of the laws and a determination to punish the guilty; and to show them that venal and traitorous conduct was not *then* applauded as now, he cites for them the decree against Arthmius of Zelea, who was not a Greek, yet was adjudged by *them* an outlaw for bringing Persian gold into Greece. He then advances upon ground quite different from that taken by him some years before. Hitherto we find no acknowledgment of the superior power of Philip; on the contrary he always spoke of him as an enemy not much to be feared. But now he regards him as far more powerful than ever Lacedæmon was. And this arises not only from his superior force but also from his tactics, which have completely changed since first he contended with them. He now makes no difference between summer and winter, and they must accordingly be prepared to

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meet the change in this respect, and oppose him by force wherever he presents himself. But there was something more to be done. Intestine enemies must be made to feel the hand of the law; and to convince them of the danger of fostering traitors, he again enters more fully into the political events of the last few years as exhibited in Olynthus, Eretria, and Oreus. A remarkable contrast is then drawn between the orator who speaks to please and the statesman who counsels for the interests of his country, and the oration concludes by recalling a picture fondly loved by every patriot, the former glory of his country, and the assurance that only from Athens could safety come; and finally that they must not suffer the honourable distinction of "defenders of Greece," handed down to them through many and great dangers, to slip from their fingers.

Such in substance is this celebrated oration, and from the subsequent course of events, we see that it was not spoken in vain. An unusual energy was infused into the Athenians. In Eubœa, Phocion expelled Philistides and his Macedonian garrison. Oreus and Eretria were liberated. But he did not stop here; he extended his conquests further, and attacked some of Philip's stations on the Pagasæan Gulf, and captured some towns in alliance with Macedon. In the subsequent year also, when Philip attacked Byzantium and Perinthus, the exertions of Demosthenes were successful in rescuing them from his power. It is pleasing to see that just before the final setting of the sun of Greece a few bright rays shot forth, soon to be extinguished on the fatal field of Cheronæa.

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NOTES

TO THE

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[Page 21.]

Πολλῶν λόγων. . . . ἐκκλησίαν.] *Although many speeches have been made at almost every assembly.* Ὀλίγου δεῖν = Σχέδον. *Pæne.* Cf. JELF. 864. Ἀφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποίησατο. *Ex quo pacem fecit.* Since he made the peace. This was in *Ol.* 108, 2, B. C. 346. To this period the following orations of Demosthenes are to be referred: *De PACE* 346-5; *PHIL.* ii. 344-3; *De HALONESO*, 343-2; *De FALSA LEGATIONE*, 343-2; *De CHERSONESO*, 343-2; and *Æschines cont. TIMARCH.* 346-5; *De FALSA LEGATIONE*, 343-2. We may be sure that many others were made, whose authors or names can never be known.

Καὶ πάντων ἐδ' οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων γ' ἔν.] *Et cum satis sciam, neminem negare posse.* WOLF. *And I know well that all would say, &c.* Γέ = saltem. Εἶδ is omitted by DINDORF, REISKE, and BEKKER. But REISKE in his note to πολλῶν κ.τ.λ., at the commencement of the oration, has supplied a quotation from Aristides which contains it. SPENGLER has also shown that DION. HAL. quotes the passage with ἐδ, and this of itself would seem to be conclusive evidence for its insertion. Εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιῶσι τοῦτο. *Even if they do not do so.* ARNOLD well remarks that ποιεῖν, like our *do*, is used as the representative of the preceding verb.

Καὶ λέγειν δεῖν, καὶ πράττειν.] Nearly all the manuscripts have, after πράττειν, ἅπασι προσήκειν, which BEKKER altered to ἅ πᾶσι προσήκει, the reading of SCHÆFER. But on this SPENGLER remarks, that to retain both δεῖν and προσήκειν is contrary to the custom

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of the orator. The reading of DINDORF is retained here, which is confirmed by codex Σ. *That they ought to speak and act.*

Εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγμένα.....ὁρῶ.] *All our affairs have been so neglected, and confused through inattention, &c.* The verb ὑπάγειν, among its secondary meanings, has that of *leading one on by deceit and cunning* (Lat. *inducere*), as in DEM. *De Pace*, p. 59. Ἐλπίδας καὶ φανακισμοὺς, οἷς ὑπαχθέντες ὑμεῖς. Here it refers to the influence of evil counsels in drawing away the minds of the Athenians from the true state of affairs. Προειμένα, *per incuriam prolapsa*. WOLF.

Εἰ καὶ λέγειν.....χειροτονεῖν ὑμᾶς.] *If all the orators wished to advise, and you to resolve, &c.* There is a difference between εἰ καὶ and καὶ εἰ. In εἰ καὶ, although, καὶ belongs to the sentence, and allows something which does or will really exist, or has existed; in καὶ εἰ, even if, καὶ belongs to εἰ, and not to the sentence; allowing a supposed case, which does not exist, and in many cases is impossible. JELF. 861. After χειροτονεῖν, sc. ταῦτα. Ἐξ ὧν ὥς.....ἔξειν. *On account of which our affairs would probably be in the worst possible condition.*

Οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι.....διατεθῆναι.] *They could not be in a worse state than they are now.* Ἀνὰ διατεθῆναι is the reading in many manuscripts.

Καὶ οὐ παρ' ἓν, οὐδὲ δύο.] *Et neque per unum neque per duo.* Παρὰ in such expressions signifies coexistence, coincidence, and implies that while one set of causes is progressing another is keeping parallel with them. Cf. *De Pace* p. 57. Παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὃν οἷδ' ἐγώ. *De Reb. Chers.* p. 109. Παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα. *Phil.* i. p. 43. Παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. SCHAEFER translates *ob unam alteramve causam*.

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Ἄνπερ ἐξετάζητε ὁρθῶς.] *If you properly inquire into the matter.*

Διὰ τοὺς.....προαιρουμένους.] *From those who prefer to speak for your pleasure rather than your advantage.* Χαρίζεσθαι, SMEAD properly remarks, is equivalent to πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν.

Καὶ δύνανται.] Here equivalent to δύναντοί εἰσιν. SCHAEFER. In this sense Demosthenes frequently uses the verb δύνασθαι. Other writers also use it in a similar way; as in *Eur. Orest.* 879,

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and 887. *Ὅς ἂν δύνῃται πόλεος. In MED. 128, it is equivalent to *ισχύει, σθένει*.—Τὰ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντ' οὐδένα καιρὸν δύναται θνατοῖς.

Οὐκ οὖν οὐδ' δεῖν ἔχειν.] And therefore think you ought to have none. BEKKER and DINDORF here read οὐκοῦν. "But some manuscripts have οὐκ οὖν, and as Rüdiger observes, 'duplex negatio huic loco bene convenit.'" WHISTON. Οὐκ οὖν = *Non ergo*, remarks is most true, if the writings of Plutarch and Lucian be received as the rule of true Greek. But he further remarks that among the old Attic writers each particle preserves its own proper signification, and he writes the latter οὐκ οὖν, adding or omitting the interrogation, as the case requires.

Τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας.] *Practical statesmen*. KENNEDY. The force of ἐπὶ in such constructions is, *to be placed over anything*, to manage or protect it. DEM. p. 928. Πλευσεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι. Cf. DEM. OL. ii. p. 21, "Ὀντων ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, and De Cor. p. 309. Διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων.

Οὐδὲν ἄλλο δίκην λήψεται.] *Id agunt, ut civit: de se penas sumat*. Do nothing else than make the city inflict punishment upon itself, i. e. upon its own citizens.

Καὶ περὶ τοῦτ' ἔσται.] And will busy her in such occupations. Εἶναι περὶ τι has this meaning in Greek. More rarely ἔχειν περὶ τι, as in HER. viii. 85. Περὶ μὲν νῦν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε.

Αἱ δὲ τοιοῦται εἰσιν ὑμῶν.] *Now politics of this sort are usual with you*. BREMI says that the plural here indicates that such a system had been preserved for a long time. RÜDIGER refers it to the different political factions mentioned before. But ARNOLD in my opinion gives the correct force. He says "this is another instance of the plural of an abstract noun, denoting particular instances and manifestations of the abstract notion. Cf. De REB. CHERS. p. 107. Καὶ τοιούτας ἄλλας φιλανθρωπίας."

᾽Ωδὲ.] A strengthened form of ὥδε. It never occurs in tragedy. Ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων] *In ceteris quidem rebus*. On other subjects. SMEAD here quotes BREMI: In democratiis, stultitia est ejusquam os occludere velle. Quo magis operam das, eo major erit licentia loquendi et vituperandi.

᾽Ὡστε καὶ αὐτῆς μεταδεδώκατε.] Αὐτῆς = τῆς παρόρησίας.

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WOLF. *So that you have allowed a measure of it even to strangers and slaves.* The ξένος as such, at Athens, was considered an enemy, CIC. DE OFF. i. 12, and he was not allowed to take part in any public deliberation, nor to acquire any landed property. He was, however, subject to all the regulations of the state, and had to perform liturgies as well as the native born Athenians.

Δούλοι.] The number of these at Athens was very great. In the Archonship of Demetrius Phalereus, B. C. 309, there were 400,000. Even the poorest citizen had one to take care of his household. The father of Demosthenes had more than fifty, *In* ΑΡΗΟΒ. p. 823, Πλέον ἢ πεντήκοντα ἀνδράποδα κεκτημένον. They were principally employed in manual labour, such as working the mines and agriculture. They were not compelled at Athens like the Helots of Sparta and the Penestæ of Thessaly, to serve in the army, although at Marathon and Arginusæ they fought under Athenian commanders, PAUSAN. i. 32. Insurrections of slaves at Athens were not usual, and generally took place among the miners at Laurium, on account of the severity with which they were treated.

Oikéras.] Slavery among the Greeks was of two kinds. While a nation was subdued in war, the prisoners were always considered slaves. Such were, among others, the Helots of Sparta, Penestæ of Thessaly, Bithynians at Byzantium, and Aphamiotæ in Crete. This was one kind: the others were slaves proper, purchased by their masters, and called δούλοι. The δημόσιοι οἰκέται were public property at Athens, and were employed for various purposes, chiefly to keep order in the public assemblies, on which account they were sometimes called Speusinians, from the name of the person who first established them, the more usual name being τοξόται. PHOTIUS s. v. τοξόται. I am inclined to believe that these are the slaves alluded to here, and not, as Smead suggests, the household servants, who were called, he says, οἰκέται. But I find no authority for calling a domestic slave, οἰκέτης. So far is this from the case, that a slave bought at a sale was called οἰκέτης, to distinguish him from one born at home, who was called οἰκογενής. SUIDAS s. v. οἰκέτης. FRANKFORD takes this view of the matter also.

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[Page 22.] *Ἡ πόλις ἐν ἐνείαις τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων.] "The Athenians piqued themselves upon being the most independent and most humane of all people." TOURREIL.

*Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐξεληλάκετε.] But from your deliberative assemblies you have altogether banished it. This passage derives much illustration from the articles παρανόμων γραφή, νομοθέται, and θεσμοθέται, in the DICT. ANT.

Τρυφᾶν ἀκούουσιν.] Hearing yourselves puffed up, and flattered in all things for your pleasure, &c. Τοῖς πράγμασι = The affairs of state; Τοῖς γιγνομένοις = the events of the time. SCHÆFER. Περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἤδη κινδυνεύειν = "res meæ in extremum discrimen deductæ sunt. Are in the very extremity of peril. The words, from ἐν μὲν τοῖς to κινδυνεύειν, are repeated without variation from De REP. CHERS. p. 98.

Εἰ μὲν δίδκεισθε.] Si hæc vobis cordi sunt. WOLF. If therefore even now you are so determined. *Ἐτοιμος sc. εἰμι. Οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. I have nothing to say. *Ἐχω here and in many other places denotes calleo, scio, from its original meaning of habeo, teneo, possideo. So. PLATO de REP. ii. Οὐκ ἔχω ὅτι λέγω ἐν τῷ παρόντι. The original meaning of ἔχω, however, will apply here and in other places where it seems to mean calleo. BRAS

Κὰ γὰρ εἰ.] Etsi enim. *Ὅμως ἔστιν ἐπανορθώσασθαι. Still it is possible, if you wish to do your duty, even yet to rectify all these things. Some of the manuscripts here read βούλησθ' ἔτι πάντες κ.τ.λ. Si vos omnes velitis factu necessaria facere. But ἔτι is then superfluous.

Τὸ χεῖριστον κ.τ.λ.] Simillima legimus, PHIL. i. p. 40. Quales locos inter se diligenter comparabis, ut discas quomodo orator sua repetat. Multum diversa ratione simiæ oratoris Demosthenica suffurati centones suos consuunt. SCHÆFER.

ἤν.] These words at the beginning of a sentence are equivalent to the Latin nunc, nunc autem, quæ cum ita sint, as in EUR. IL. 1, 27.

ἡς βαθυμίας κεκράτηκεν.] Philip has overcome your slothfulness and carelessness, but he has not subdued the state.

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having been the author of war. Any citizen at Athens was at liberty to make a motion in the popular assembly to pass a new law or to amend an old one. But he was amenable for it for the space of one year, and any citizen could institute a γραφή παρανόμων against him if it was found that this law was inconsistent with other laws in force or with the public interest. DEM. c. Timeo. pp. 710, 711. If he was convicted the law became void, and he was liable to such punishment as the judges might decree. Any one convicted thrice for such an offence lost the power of proposing laws in future. The Thesmothetæ had cognizance of the case. The object of all this was to check hasty legislation, and we thus see that Demosthenes is here right in endeavouring to ward off from himself, or any citizen, the possible penalty of proposing an unconstitutional measure.

Διορίζομαι.] WOLF, on διορθοῦσθαι supra, remarks: Quod hic διορθοῦσθαι, paulo post. διορίζεσθαι, distinguere, dicit. 'Εφ' ἡμῖν. In our power. Cf. De REB. CHERS. p. 90. 'Εφ' ὧν ἐστὶ ὅταν βούλησθε κολάζειν. Contra LEPT. p. 491. Τὰ μὲν τότε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς τότε θεοῖς, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς νῦν.

'Εξεστὶ.] From a consideration of outward circumstances. 'Εστὶ, from circumstances under our own control. Καὶ τὸν ταῦτα ἀξιώ, and I call upon him who affirms these things (that we have peace) to move a resolution, and bring forward some measure, and not deceive us. WOLF remarks: Sententia est: proditores quidem dicere et simulare, pacem esse; sed non ea decernere et agere, quæ ad veram pacem pertineant.

Εἰ δὲ ἕτερος.] "Aristides the grammarian refers this word to Philip, and says there is something exquisite and noble, σεμνότης, contained in it. But the orator speaks generally. However the grammarians everywhere see things which would escape the eyes of Lynceus." SCHÆFER.

Τόνομα μὲν προβάλλει.] Amuses you with the name of pretence. "Όνομα and ἔργον are frequently contrasted, the former thus signifying a mere pretence, the latter the reality. Cf. PHEN. 512; OREST. 445; HIPPOCR. 502. HARPOCRATION, s. γ. προβάλλειν, says: προβάλλειν τι ὄνομα, signifies to make promises with the intention of deceiving. And to prove this we need only refer to the

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actions of Philip previous to his entry at Thermopylæ in 346. He there wrote two letters, one immediately after the other, inviting the Athenians to come and aid him against the Phocians. FALSB. LEB. p 357. Now under the then present circumstances he could have had no other idea than that of gaining time, and thus deceiving the Athenians, who might have been induced, if it had not been for these very letters, to send Athenian troops to occupy Thermopylæ as Demosthenes advised. The common reading here is *προβάλλεται*. The distinction is: "*προβάλλει, projicit, protendit, quo vos securos consopiat; προβάλλεται, quo se adversus vos tueatur.*" FRANKK.

Φάσκειν δὲ οὐ διαφέρωμαι] But say that you keep the peace, if you wish, as he does, I care not for that, i. e. Go on acquiring towns and possessions for yourselves at his expense, and call that keeping the peace, if you wish. *Φάσκειν, dictitare, say as often as you will.* Οὐ διαφέρωμαι, *nil curo, haud intercedo, meum nil refert.* REISKE.

Ταύτην εἰρήνην.] The article is omitted to show that the meaning is general. On the omission of the copula *εἶναι* here consult JELF. 376.

Ἐφ' ἧμᾶς ἥξει.] *He will come against us.* A constant theme of the warnings of Demosthenes. And it is strange, considering the loss which must have fallen upon them in case of an invasion of Attica, that the Athenians did not bestir themselves more.

Ἐπειτα ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὑμῶν λέγει.] *And then, he speaks of a peace observed by you towards him, not by him towards you.* Some editions have *ἀγείν λέγει* here, which WOLF changed to *εἶναι* by conjecture, a reading adopted by AUGER.

Ὁ τῶν ἀνεῖται.] *What Philip purchases by all the money he expends.* Τῶν ἀναλισκωμένων χρημάτων. Genitive of price. JELF. 519. Cf. HER. V. 6. *Ὡνεύονται τὰς γυναῖκας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων μεγάλων.*

Τῷ ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμῆσθαι.] *And still avoid being attacked by you.*

Καὶ μὴν.] *Et vero.* JELF. 728. *Μέχρι τοῦτου = Until he declares war.*

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[Page 23.] Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐρεῖ.] For neither will he say this, even if
advancing against Attica, and entering the Piræus. Τὸν Πειραιᾶ.
One of the ports of Athens, the others being Munychia and Pha-
lerum. These were connected with the city by means of the long
walls built under the administration of Pericles. Themistocles
had surrounded the ports by a wall. The entire circuit of these
walls was one hundred and seventy-four and a-half stadia. The
long walls (τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη) were three in number, one on the east
to Phalerum, thirty-five stadia long, another on the west to the
Piræus, about forty stadia, and the third parallel to the last, lead-
ing to the same place. These last were known as the long walls,
the one to Phalerum being usually called τὸ Φαληρικὸν τεῖχος.

Πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους.] Towards the others, i. e. those whom he
subsequently proceeds to enumerate: the Olynthians and Pho-
cians.

[Page 24.]

Τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στάδια.] "After Philip had
captured the thirty-two Chalcidic cities, he marched against
Olynthus itself. On arriving within forty furlongs of the city,
he sent to the inhabitants a peremptory summons, intimating
that either they must evacuate the city, or he must leave Mace-
donia." GROTE, chap. lxxxviii.

Δυοῖν θάτερον.] BREMI refers to *De Cor.* p. 274: Καίτοι δυοῖν
αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ . . . ἐγκαλεῖν, ἢ . . . μὴ φέρειν, and states
that after θάτερον the verb ποιεῖν is to be supplied. But SCHAEFER
does not approve of this, and also dissents from those who would
make it the accusative absolute. But he would be content with
a nominative absolute, and considers it as one of those formulæ
which are inserted in the oration, yet have a loose syntactical
connection with it. He therefore supplies no verb. But his
illustration in German, *eins von beiden*, does not happen to apply
in English, and therefore I am inclined to adopt BREMI's opinion,
and supply ποιεῖν.

Πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον.] Accusative of time. JELF, 577.
The period alluded to is that between midsummer, B C. 350, and
the commencement of the siege of Olynthus, during which time
he had conquered and destroyed the whole of the Chalcidic

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towns. And what is here related of Olynthus may have been equally true in the case of Stagira, Torone, Apollonia, and the rest. Capturing them in detail, he kept assuring his next victims that his designs were favourable to them. Αἰτιόσαιτο governs two accusatives, αὐτὸν and τι τοιοῦτον. Cf. DEM. COR. p. 250. Ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται ἐμὲ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου.

Τοῦτο δέ.] In connection with τοῦτο μέν, supra, is to be translated and then again.

Ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους.] At page 54, we have ὡς βασιλέα; and again, in *De Reb. Chers.* p. 98, Πέμπετε ὡς ἡμᾶς—πρέσβεις. Ὡς in both these instances is a preposition. But in the present instance it is not so, but merely expresses a supposition, and is equivalent to *as if*. Cf. THUC. vi. 61. Ἀπέπλεον μετὰ τῆς Σαλαμίνος ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας ὡς ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. XEN. ANAB. iv. 3, 11. Φρύγανα συλλέγοντες ὡς ἐπὶ πῦρ. Cf. JEFF. 626.

Καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκίων ἦσαν. . . . πορευομένην.] And there were envoys of the Phocians who accompanied him on his march, i.e., in B.C. 346, when he was marching southward from Pella to Pheræ, before he had taken the oaths. I quite agree with GROTE that the reference in this passage, and also what follows as far as πάροδον, refers to the same period of time.

Καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἤριζον πολλοί.] And many with us contended. FRANKÉ here reads οἱ πολλοί, and is followed by SMEAD, who translates, *the populace maintained*, and quotes FRANKÉ'S remark, *vulgus cui proditorem turba verba dederat*. But here, I contend, they are wrong. Πολλοί does not allude to the populace at Athens in any way, but to the ambassadors who accompanied Philip in this celebrated march, among whom were the ten Athenians, and besides ambassadors from Thessaly, Thebes, Phocis, and Sparta, all contending to gain Philip's favour and alliance. The words παρ' ἡμῖν will then refer to Philip's court of envoys who attended the great Sphinx, and endeavoured to determine his ultimate policy, or in whose favour he acted. Further than this, the treaty had not been signed; the ambassadors had not returned; the people could know nothing about it, and could hardly determine whether the result would be favourable to Thebes or not.

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Θηβαίους οὐ τὴν ἐκείνου παράδοτον.] *That his approach would not benefit the Thebans.* Here, again, the allusion is to the sentiments of the ambassadors with Philip. We see a few lines above that he was marching forward avowedly as the ally of Phocis. So firmly convinced were even the Theban envoys of this, that at one time they became alarmed; and well they might, for some of Philip's officers expressly declared that his purpose was to conquer Thebes and restore the Boeotian towns of Thespiæ and Plataea. ÆSCH. FALS. LEG. p. 46. What could be more likely than that this language should be interpreted by the ambassadors to mean what it really was not intended to do, since the purpose was all along to pit the one against the other, and gain time to arrive at Thermopylæ?

Πρώην.] This was in the year of the peace. He garrisoned this city because it was the most disaffected to him of all in Thessaly. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 424. From the language there employed we may conjecture that Pheræ was one of those cities whose citadels were occupied by him.

ἔχει καταλαβών.] *Having seized it, he continues to hold it.* ἔχει with the participle is thus used to denote the continuance of the action when already commenced. In Latin, a similar power is possessed by *habere*, and a *passive participle in the accusative*. Cf. for example DEM. c. APHOB. p. 818. τὴν μὲν τοίνυν προῖκα ἔχει λαβών. EUR. MED. 33, 89; HEC. 999; ANT. 1045; and CÆD. REX. 567. CÆSAR de BEL. GAL. i. 44: Id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios compertum habere.

Ἄρετρας.] Oreus was a town in the northern part of Eubœa, and nearly opposite the Pagasæan gulf. Its position made it an important place to hold, and it had been under the Athenian dominion at various times since the Persian wars. The events here related had taken place the very year in which this oration was delivered. Ἐπισκεψομένους εὖνοιαν. *That he had sent his soldiers to visit them out of kindness.* "Since ἐπισκέπτεσθαι is said of those who visit the sick, the ridicule upon the inhabitants of Oreus is here very bitter. But this was Philip's manner, to speak blandly, and cavil in words until he was sure of his prey." BREMI.

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‘ὧς νοσοῦσι.] Philip had used these words to apply to the diseased Oreitans, and Demosthenes completes the metaphor by using ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, to visit, as a physician visits his patients. Καὶ στασιάζουσιν is intended as explanatory of νοσοῦσι. FRANK

‘Ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς παρῆναι.] To be at hand to help them in such difficulties. The events here alluded to are involved in much obscurity. They all took place in 342-1, and are briefly as follows: The party favourable to Philip was led by Philistides the tyrant, who was supported by Philip. He persuaded them to imprison Euphræus of Oreus, the leader of the opposing party, as a disturber of the public peace. Philistides then introduced a body of Macedonian troops, and thus became confirmed in his power—the city at the same time, as a matter of course, revolting from the confederacy of Athenian cities in Eubœa, which had been formed subsequently to the battle of Tamynæ. ÆSCH. C. CTES. pp. 67, 68. Euphræus poisoned himself in prison.

Αὐτόν.] Accusative before αἰρεῖσθαι. That he would prefer to deceive those who, &c. Μὴ παθεῖν . . . ἂν ἴσως. But they might, perhaps, have guarded against receiving an injury. Προλέγονται βιάζεσθαι. Warn them of his attack.

Καὶ ταῦθ’ ἔως.] And that, too, whilst, or as long as. Οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. Sane, non ita est. In very truth, not so.

Τῶν ἀδικουμένων αὐτῶ.] JELF. 541. When the subject of the participle is not the same as that of the verb, the participle and its subject are usually in the genitive absolute. De REB. CHERS. p. 94. Διαβαλλόντων τινῶν καὶ κατηγορούντων διασπασθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι. Translate: Whilst you, who are suffering the injury, make no complaint against him.

‘Ἄλλ’ ὁμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων.] These words are probably an allusion to Diopithes, on whose behalf the oration De REB. CHERS. was delivered. “He was reviled by the partisans of Philip and accused of breaking the peace of 346, by his actions in Thrace and the Chersonese. “Τῶν αὐτῶν depends in construction on τινὰς.

Καὶ τῶν παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἀφέλοιτο.] And should remove them from his hirelings, &c. The orators at Athens in the party of Philip, such as Æschines and Demades. Ἀφαρεῖν is more of the Card

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usually joined with a double accusative, IL. i. 182. or with the Acc. and Dat. OD. i. 9, seldom, as here, with an accusative of the thing and genitive of person. But cf. XEN. HELLEN. iii. 1, 7, 'Ἀφαιρησόμενος τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν.

Ὅς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς.] *With which they put you off.* Cf. DE REB. CHERS. p. 102. Καὶ τοιοῦτους λόγους οἷς ἀναβάλλουσι ὑμᾶς. WOLF explains ἀναβάλλειν by ὀκνεῖν καὶ ἀναδέεσθαι καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὑπερῖζειν. The word is used by XEN. of a horse throwing his rider. 'Αναβάλλειν τὸν ἀναβάτην. Hence, probably, is derived the meaning it has here, of *putting off*.

'Ἔστιν. . . . ὅστις.] These words are used to denote *any body*, or *some indefinite person*. Cf. XEN. AN. i. viii. 'Ἔστι δ' ὅστις καὶ καταλήψθῃ ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ.

Μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων.] Prepositions are usually repeated before every noun, and it is rare to find one omitted in disjunctive sentences. JELF. 650, 1, 4. Something similar occurs frequently in tragedy; in compound verbs, the second one usually drops the preposition EUR. HER. 167. 'Ἀπωλέσας' ὥλέσας'. OREST. 180. Διοιχόμεθ' οἰχόμεθα. ALCEST. 400. 'Τπάκουσον, ἄκουσον. It may be remarked that all these examples are from choral odes.

Οὐδεὶς δὴ που.] *Nemo scilicet. Nobody I ween.* 'Ἀρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονύτας. The peace having now been concluded. This must refer to the settlement of the preliminaries at Athens by Antipater and Parmenio and the Athenians, which was nearly three months before Philip took the oaths at Phæræ. The peace was voted by the Athenian people, Elaphebolion, 19th March, 346, and ratified on the 28th. Philip, however, did not take the oaths until Scirophorion, June 15th, 346.

Ὅπως Διοπίθους στρατηγούντος.] We cannot determine the exact date of the appointment of Diopithes to the command, but we learn (from DE REB. CHERS. p. 91) that it was after the conditions of the peace had been agreed upon, when he and a body of settlers had been sent out from Athens unprovided with pay (p. 95), and that, in order to support himself, he made attacks upon Cardia, an ally of Philip. The king sent forces to the aid of the Cardians, and Diopithes defeated them, and carried his

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incursions into maritime Thrace. Philip now sent envoys and a letter to Athens threatening to overrun the Chersonese unless Diopithes were restrained in his warlike efforts; but meantime the king was pushing his conquests against the Thracian princes. EPIST. PHIL. DEM. p. 161. This led to complaints against Diopithes, whom Demosthenes defends in the *De REB. CHERS.*

Οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων. . . . ἀπεσταλμένων.] *Nor were those troops yet in Chersonesus who have lately been sent*, i. e. the mercenaries who accompanied Diopithes, about whom much was then said at Athens.

Σέρρειον.] A promontory of Thrace and a town of the same name near Doriscus. This latter place was situated in a great plain near the river Hebrus. HER. vii. 59. Ἱεροῦ ὄρους. A fort near the last two towns. The day after the peace had been ratified at Athens (Elaphebolion 28) a despatch came from Chares informing the Athenians that Philip had captured the Sacred Mount, and other important places in Thrace, and had deprived Cersobleptes of the greater part of his kingdom. ÆSCH. FALS. LEG. p. 40.

Οὗς δ. . . . ἐγκατέστησαν.] *Whom your own general had stationed there.* This was Chares, who was acting in Thrace in conjunction with Cersobleptes, whom he assisted by means of the fleet under his command.

Καίτοι πάντα πράττων, τί ἐποίει;] *And yet in acting thus what was he in reality doing?* Subaudi εἰ μὴ ἐπολέμει. *Quid aliud faciebat, si non bellabat?* REISKE.

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Εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὠμωμόκει.] *For he had sworn to the peace.* This must be taken with some latitude. The facts were these: The peace was on the basis of *uti possidetis*, from the day upon which it was sworn to at Athens. Now as we said above, this was Elaphebolion 28th, at which time a decree also passed that the ambassadors should proceed to Philip and have the oath taken immediately. But for some reason they did not set out until after Munchion 3rd (April), and then they did not go direct to Philip in Thrace; but, having proceeded to Oreus, they arrived at Pella by slow passages, and awaited there until Philip

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returned from Thrace, fifty days after they left Athens. DEM. FALS. LEG. p. 390. And still he did not take the oaths until nearly twenty days after. I would therefore interpret the present passage to mean, that as Athens had sworn in presence of the Macedonian envoys, the orator may intend that Philip was bound by the action of his envoys.

Τῇ πόλει.] JACOBS well remarks that the loss of such unimportant places was small to Athens, but it was not the political profit or loss that was now to be regarded, but *right*, and political justice, and therefore independent of the magnitude or unimportance of the subjects in dispute. Ἄλλος ἂν . . . οὗτος. *That were another question.* SMEAD quotes PLATO, APOI. SOC. c. 23. Εἰ μὲν θαρράλειως ἐγὼ ἔχω πρὸς θάνατον ἢ μὴ, ἄλλος λόγος. De LEG. i. 7. ὁ λόγος ἂν ἕτερος εἴη.

Τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς . . . δύναμιν] He here quotes a paradox of the Stoics, that ἴσα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ κατορθώματα. WOLF. On ἐπιμικρὸν, cf. JELF. 633. *Religion and justice demand the same, whether the transgression be in great or small things.*

Ἦν βασιλεὺς . . . εἶναι.] This abrupt introduction of the king of Persia seems rather strange, and the appeal to his authority is somewhat remarkable. "But the growing power of Philip and his threatening disposition would naturally induce the Athenians to court the friendship of any state strong enough to protect them." WHISTON. Translate: *Which the king and all the Greeks know to be yours.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, without the article as is usual in speaking of the king of Persia. From HER. vi. 34, we learn that in the time of Peisistratus the Chersonese was inhabited by Dorians, and that they invited Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, to rule over them. He took out with him a body of Athenians as settlers, who volunteered for the expedition, vi. 36. He also built a wall from Pactya to Cardia, and thus protected the country. Miltiades was succeeded by Stesagoras, and, on his assassination, Hippias sent his brother Miltiades, who ruled for twenty-four years, and then abandoned the country from fear of the Persians, and returned to Athens. After the battle Marathon the country was again secured to Athens, and continued subject to them until the end of the Peloponnesian War. They then lost it,

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and did not finally gain possession of it until its cession to them by Cersobleptes in 358-7.

Καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα.] *And writes us word that such is the case.* Cf. EPIST. PHILIP. p. 161. Καρδιανοῖς δέ φημι βοηθεῖν.

Ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτου δέω.] *So far am I from agreeing, &c.* I have retained τοσούτου instead of τοσούτῳ. The expressions πολλοῦ δέω, ὀλίγου δέω, and τοσούτου δέω, all have the same general meaning of *wanting*, and are all followed by the infinitive.

Ἄστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον.] A short time before the date of this oration, some Megareans, under the leadership of Pterilaus, laid their plans for the capture of the city, by means of Macedonian troops sent from Phocis to Pegæ, the port of Megara on the Crissæan Gulf. Word came to Athens, and Phocion and a body of Athenian hoplites (B. C. 343) were despatched with all haste. They arrived at Megara, and made the city secure by fortifying Nicæa, and connecting it by long walls with Megara, thus securing the entry of Athenians at any time into the city. Pterilaus was soon after tried at Megara before the *Three Hundred*, and acquitted by means of Pteodorus, a man of great influence in the city, who afterwards despatched him for more Macedonian troops, which, however, did not arrive. FALS. LEG. 436. We can easily see the importance Athens placed upon Megara from the frequent mention made of it by Demosthenes in this and other orations. Cf. PHIL. iv. p. 133. FALS. LEG. pp. 368, 435, 446, 448. In De COR. p. 324, we find Pteodorus given in the list of traitors to Greece and partisans of Philip. The reason of this importance being given to the city is that, having all Bœotia under his sway, if he gained Megara he would have surrounded Athens on all sides. He already governed Eubœa by his bribed adherents.

Ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τυραννίδα κατασκευάζοντα.] This is more fully treated of in the present oration, pp. 123-127. REISKE prefers to read τυραννίδας, for Philip had set up several tyrants in Eubœa, but τυραννὶς is here used generally, to apply to any tyrants. Translate: *Dominationem tyrannorum.*

Νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκην παρίοντα.] Cf. De REB. CHERS. p. 100. Philip was still absent in Thrace at the date of this oration, and had

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before the date of the death of Pterilaus, means of Macedonia of Megara on the Phocion and a body of troops with all haste. secure by fortifying Megara, thus securing the city. Pterilaus three Hundred, and great influence in the Macedonian troops, 36. We can easily

from the frequent and other orations, 446, 448. In the list of traitors to the cause of this importance, the Athenians under his sway, the Athenians on all sides adherents.

more fully treated, he prefers to read tyrants in Euboea, to any tyrants.

rs. p. 100. Philip's oration, and had

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been there for more than ten months. The campaign ended by the subjugation of the country and the expulsion of the kings. WINIEWSKI, p. 187.

Τὰ ἐν.σκευαρούμενον.] *Cunningly laying his plots in Periponnesus.* The verb σκευαρεύεσθαι, like σκευοποιεῖσθαι, is applied to a cunningly devised trick, to effect by intrigue. Its derivative, σκευώρημα, has the same force. Cf. DEM. p. 955. 'Αλλ' εἶναι τοῦτο πλᾶσμα καὶ σκευώρημα ὅλον. Also, p. 1035, σκευώρημα συνιδόντες.

Εἰ μὴ καὶ.προσαγάγωσιν.] *Unless indeed ye will say that those who are placing their engines keep the peace, until they lead them against the walls.* Observe that Demosthenes uses the word μηχανή here and below, where other writers would use μηχανή, as THUC. ii. 76, Μηχανὰς προσήγον τῇ πόλει; iv. 13, 'Αποβάσεως δὲ μάλιστ' αὐτῆς ἔλκιν μηχαναῖς. However, he may not here intend so much engines of war, as deceit of any kind, as in ÆSCH. PROM. 469. In the CHOR. 981, it is applied to the robe in which Agamemnon is entangled.

Οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθῶ.] *By which I may be overcome.* Κἂν μήπω βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξεύῃ. *Even though he hurl no javelin and draw no bow.*

Τίσιν οὖν.γένοντο.] *If anything should happen, of what would you be in danger?* Κινδυνεύειν is here construed with a dative, as in HER. ii. 120, vii. 209, viii. 60. The construction with ὑπὲρ and the genitive is the more common, although πρὸς and the accusative is found in HER. iv. 11. In this passage, REISKE reads εἰ γίνοντο, and translates: *Quænam igitur illa sunt, quorum eventus nos in discrimen conjiciat.* But εἰ τι γένοιτο, si quid acciderit, is more spirited. The infinitives following are to be regarded as substantives in apposition to τίσιν.

Εἴτα] JELF. 874. 6. Τοῦτον εἰρήνην.πρὸς ὑμᾶς; *Can I affirm that he keeps the peace towards you?* Πολλοὺ γε καὶ δέω. *And indeed I am far from doing so.*

'Αφ' ἧς ἡμέρας.Φωκίας.] *But from the day he destroyed the Phocians.* We cannot determine the exact date of the destruction of these towns, but the most probable date is Scirophorion 23rd,

[Page 25.]

the day on which Phalæcus and his mercenaries surrendered to Philip at Thermopylæ. The Phocian towns surrendered at the same time, and their destruction followed immediately. This was hardly a week after the signing of the peace at Pheræ.

Ἑμῆς δὲ φημί.] *And I say you are wise if you send assistance now.* Ἡδὲ is very emphatic here. Δυνήσεσθε. *De meo sensu dedi δυνήσεσθαι in infinitivo apto e præmisso φημί, Aio negatum vobis tum fore, ut faciatis.* REISK. But all the manuscripts give δυνήσεσθε, and I have retained it. Besides, I can hardly see why it should be changed, as there is no anacoluthon in leaving it as it is.

Καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε τῶν ἄλλων.] *And so much do I dissent from.* ὥστε κ.τ.λ. *That I do not think we ought now to consult regarding the Chersonese, nor Byzantium.* Βυζαντίον. A town on the Thracian Bosphorus, founded by the Megareans, B. C. 658. The other Grecian colonies in this neighbourhood were Lampsacus, Cyzicus, Perinthus, and Chalcedon, opposite Byzantium. (HEEREN'S MANUAL, p. 131.) The founder is said to have been Byzas, the son of Neptune. Its site made it, in a very short period, a most flourishing city and a port of great trade with Athens and the rest of Greece. During the Peloponnesian War it was alternately under the sway of the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians. It revolted from Athens in 358, and took part with Rhodes and Chios in the Social War. It had continued ill-affected towards Athens during all the remainder of the reign of Philip, and sometimes in alliance with him, (*De Cor.* p. 254,) until the year of this speech, when Demosthenes was sent as envoy to visit it, and induced it to form an alliance with Athens against Philip. In consequence of this, and of the aid lent to Athens against Philip, the people voted a crown to the Athenians. *De Cor.* p. 255.

Καὶ τοῖς οὖν ἀποστείλαι.] *And send to the soldiers who are now there everything they may need.* Ἐκεῖ. This word refers only to the Chersonese, not to Byzantium. Phocion and the soldiers under his charge were not received into Byzantium until 341-0, the year after the delivery of this speech. The allusion, then, will be to Diopithes and his soldiers.

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Ἐξ ὧν φοβούμαι.] [Page 25.]
From what cause I thus am in dread for
our affairs. After εἰπεῖν understand περὶ τῶν. *Μετέχειν* has the
meaning of to partake of anything with another, hence to adopt,
as here. Translate: Ye may adopt my opinions.

[Page 26.]
Καὶ πρόνοιάν τιν' ποιήσῃσθε.] "FRANKE translates as if it
were εἰ μὴ ἔρα, nisi forte: but, as following ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, I think
εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων is si non etiam reliquorum; the ἔρα being ut
videtur. That you may at least take some wise precautions for
yourselves, if, as it seems, you do not choose to do so for other states
as well." ARNOLD. Ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, the objective genitive.

Τετυφώσθαι.] This word is variously derived. If from τυφός,
smoke, mist, it will mean here to be wrapt in smoke or clouds, to be
silly or absurd. This is the view taken by most modern etymolo-
gists, and in my opinion the correct one. HARPOCRATION remarks
upon it: τετυφώμαι· ἐμβεβρόντημαι, ἕξω τῶν φρενῶν γέγονα. Cf.
FALS. LEG. p. 409. Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μαίνομαι, καὶ τετυφώμαι, where the
first derivation is certainly preferable to the second. *Ληρεῖν*. To
speak or act like a fool. Compare the Latin *deliro*, I rave, and its
English derivative, *delirium*.

Ἀδῆς.] Again, hence hereafter. Translate: Neither now nor
hereafter consider me as one sound in mind.

Μέγας ἠύξηται.] Proleptic use of μέγας. It is already
implied in the verb αὐξάνειν Cf. XEN. ANAB. i. 5, 8, μετεώρους
ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. Πρὸς αὐτοὺς = πρὸς ἀλλήλους. JELF. 654,
2. Cf. De Cor. p. 247, for the sudden rise of Macedon.

Καὶ ὅτι πολλῶν γενέσθαι.] And it was far more improbable
that he should become such as he is, from the man he was. Προεί-
ληφε. Jam tenet. Legi possit etiam προσέληφε, cæteris adjunxit.
WOLF.

Καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι.] He should also reduce what
remains under himself. He uses the aor. Inf. to denote a finished
result, and not the gradual reduction of them, which would re-
quire the present. Διεξελεθεῖν. To go through in words, to relate.
Cf. HER. vii. 18.

Ἄλλ' ὁρῶ αὐτῶν.] But I see all men, beginning with you,

[Page 28.]

have granted to him, that, &c. The expression ἀπό τινος ἀρξάμενος is used adverbially, and has the peculiarity of agreeing with its subject, and defines its limits and sense. Cf PLATO. REP. 600. Οὐκοῦν τίθωμεν ἀπὸ Ὀμήρου ἀρξαμένους πάντας τοὺς ποιητικοὺς μμητάς εἰδῶλων ἀρετῆς εἶναι. Τελευτῶν, διαλιπῶν χρόνον, and ἀνύσας, are used in a similar manner. WOLF says: ἀφ' ὧν ἀρξ. *inter quos primi estis*, while SCHÆFER translates: *Initio a vobis facto*.

Οὕτως.] *In so public a manner*, i. e. in a way plainly intended for all to see, and in which no evasion was intended. Περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυστεῖν. These words convey in a very forcible manner the scorn of the orator. Περικόπτειν is applied to trees, *to cut them round and thus destroy them*. He uses it in this meaning in *De REB CHERS.* p. 91. Then again, λωποδυστεῖν (from λῶπη, a garment, and δύνω) was applied to such as robbed bathers and travelers, and committed other petty thefts. By such means does the orator often mark his scorn for the actions of the Macedonian. Cf. PHIL. i. p. 54.

Καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις.] *To enslave the cities*, i. e. commonwealths of Greece. I am inclined to take this view, since to apply it to any separate cities would lessen the force of the argument. In the same way πραγμάτων is used a few lines above, to denote the whole affairs of the commonwealth.

Καίτοι.] *And yet*. Ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ τρία. Our orator has here given a hard task to his commentators, who will not see that he is speaking generally. However, in this case, we may presume he gives the exact number, which he intends to be correct, and below, p. 117, when he says "seventy years," he must be understood as speaking in general terms. The seventy-three years will date from the close of the Persian wars, B. C. 477, to the battle of Ægospotamos, which ended the Peloponnesian War, B. C. 405-4 (OL. 93, 4). But Demosthenes mentions in OL. iii. p. 35, that the Athenians "had the hegemony of the Greeks with their consent for forty-five years." These years must be computed from B. C. 477 (OL. 75, 4,) to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, which will be over forty-five years (OL. 87, 2). His statements thus harmonize with the facts of Grecian history; but when we compare his dates with those of other writers, a remark-

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able discrepancy arises. ISOCRATES in one place says their sway
lasted sixty-five years. LUCCHESINI adopts this, counting from
the close of the Persian war to the defeat of the Athenians at
Syracuse. BOECKH also agrees in the years, but commences to
count from OL. 77, 2. B. C. 471. The round number, *seventy*, is
given also by LYSIAS. Ἐπιτάφιος, 55. PLATO, EPIST. vii. p. 443,
and ISOCRATES, PANEGYR. 122. We have seen that he also gives
the date as sixty-five. See CLINTON'S FAST. HELLEN. ii. AP.
p. 263.

Τριῶντα ἐνὸς δέοντα.] These twenty-nine years are to be
reckoned from the battle of Ægospotamos (OL. 93, 4) to the de-
feat of the Lacedæmonians by Chabrias at Naxos, B. C. 376 (OL.
101, 1). For the manner in which Sparta used her power, see
GROTE, chap. lxxvii. For the greatness of her power, see XEN.
HELLEN. v. 3.

Ἰσχυσαν δέ τι μάχην.] *And the Thebans have obtained the*
power these late years, after the battle of Leuctra. Fought between
Epaminondas and the Thebans, and Oleombrotus and the Spar-
tans, B. C. 371 OL. 102, 2). In consequence of this victory the
chief power passed to the Thebans, who were the last of the
Greeks who could claim the hegemony, since Philip, the next
leader, was no Greek.

Ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλοισθε.] *To do whatever you wished* He uses
the second person because: "Secunda persona quum plura sub-
jecta adsint, recte ponitur, quum is quem alloquimur primus et
proximus nobis sit." BREMI. SCHÆFER remarks that ποιεῖν should
have the article, since as often as τοῦτο is explained in the same
sentence by an infinitive following it, in prose the article is
scarcely ever omitted. He also reads βούλεσθε. But the opta-
tive is preferable, since the circumstances varied with the wish,
and it could refer to no settled plan.

Οὐδὲ πολλοὺ δεῖ.] *Far from it. Neutiquam.* (cf. De REB. CHERS.
p. 100. Τοῦτο μὲν. The corresponding word is καὶ πάλιν. WOLF
lays it down that when τοῦτο μὲν is used, τοῦτο δὲ should follow.
But this is not followed here, nor indeed does the orator confine
himself very strictly to these formulæ; for at page 123 he has

[Page 26.]

πρῶτον, followed by δέ, when we should expect ἐπειτα δέ. Again, at p. 126, τότε μὲν—πάλιν δέ.

Μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότε οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις.] Vide quo artificio Orator captet aurem popularem. Τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκουν προσφέρεισθαι, *Seemed to conduct themselves perhaps harshly towards certain states.* Here again the orator states a disagreeable fact in such a way as to flatter his audience, and at the same time mark his sense of their conduct. WOLF translates: *Quum quosdam non moderate tractare viderentur.* The truth of this remark will be fully confirmed by the action of Athens towards the various members of the confederacy of Delos subsequently to the wars with Persia. Cf. GROTE, chap. xlv. Considering the real facts, Demosthenes would have been right if he had used instead of οὐ μετρίως, μάλ' ὑβριστικῶς, as DISSSEN remarks. Cf. *De Cor.* p. 231. Οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρητο (Θηβαῖοι).

Πάντες φοντο δεῖν. . . . πολεμεῖν.] *All the rest, even those having no charge to bring forward, considered it a matter of necessity to urge war in conjunction with the wronged states.*

Ἀρξαι.] *Imperium capessentes.* For ἀρχειν here, as SCHÆFER remarks, is *imperium capessere*, not *imperare*. He compares HER. i. 14. Ἐπεὶ τε ἤρξε, *Postquam regno potitus est.* Translate: *Having obtained the chief power, and succeeding to the same political influence.*

Πλεονάζειν.] *Inolescere, plus sibi, quam oportebat, arrogare.* So ISO. *de SOPHISTIS*, Εἰ καὶ νῦν πλεονάζουσι, *Tametsi nunc insolenter sese jactant.* WOLF. Περὰ τοῦ μετρίου. . . ἐκίνουν. *And disturb existing institutions beyond what was reasonable.* This alludes to the action of Lysander and the Spartans after the defeat of the Athenians in B. C. 405. The attempt to establish an oligarchy was generally regarded as odious in the extreme. The appointment of decarchies and a Spartan harmost in each city was looked upon as only another name for tyranny. Besides, these rulers were generally unfit for their station, and caused much ill-feeling. But the crowning act of arrogance was the seizure of the Kadmeia, which ultimately led to a union, ending in the overthrow of the Lacedæmonian influence in Greece.

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Καὶ τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν:] And why need I mention the
others? "These words are used to indicate a change to more
serious subjects." FRANKS.

Οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες.] *Ἄν here is to be referred to ἔχοντες,
and the expression is then equivalent to οὐδὲν ἂν εἶχομεν, sc. εἰ
καὶ ἡβουλόμεθα. Having no fault to find at the outset regarding
any injury inflicted by the one upon the other. The allusion here
is to the Peloponnesian War, which, as WHISTON remarks, origi-
nated not in any direct attack of the Athenians or the Spartans
upon each other, but in the struggle between the Epidamnians
and Corcyraeans, and the events arising therefrom.

[Page 27.]

καίτοι.] Many editions have καίτοι γε, which seems a prefer-
able reading. Ἐξημάρτηται. Everything which had been inflicted.
'Ἐν τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα.] Vide supra Ἐλάττωνά ἐστιν. Are of less
consequence. Manuscripts vary here between ἐλάττω, ἐλάττων',
and the reading as given above. I have adopted it on the autho-
rity of DINDORF and SCHÆFER.

*Ὁν Φίλιππος . . . ἡδίκηκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας.] Than the wrongs
which Philip has inflicted upon the Greeks, in scarcely thirteen
years, during which he has had the upper hand. This oration was
delivered in 342-1 (OL. 109, 3), and thirteen years before would
be 355-4 (OL. 106, 2), and before this year, Philip had captured
Pydna and Potidæa, founded the new town of Philippi, and
opened for himself the resources of the adjoining auriferous re-
gions; he had established relations with Thessaly, and assisted
the Aleuadae against the tyrants of Phææ, captured Amphipolis,
and terrified the Athenians for the safety of the Chersoneso. He
had also overrun and subdued the Illyrians and Pæonians, and
fully consolidated his empire to the north of Mount Eta. GROTE,
chap. lxxxvi. Ἐπιολάσει. Aliquid esse caput. SCHÆFER. But
the meaning of the verb is not fully brought out by such an ex-
pression. It means to swim upon the surface (ἐπιπολή, ἐπὶ, πέλω).
The word is used by medical writers, in the same way as the Latin
inartare stomacho, of food remaining crude on the stomach; and
is also used of the effects of liquor on the brain, to intoxicate.

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Hence, as editors generally observe, it is applied contemptuously here. Demosthenes means by it, that Philip may go on smoothly for a time, but the end will come soon. Intoxicated by his success, he will make some blunder which will ensure his fall.

Μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ . . . ἐκείνα.] Or rather they are not the smallest part of them. The reading of VEMEL and SAUPPE here is πέμπτον μέρος, from Codd. Σ. Ω. All other editions give the reading as I have. REISKE seems to think the reading, τέμπτον, to have arisen from the frequent use of the formula in Demosthenes: Οὐδὲ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ψήφων λαβεῖν.

Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν.] These cities were the last which Philip attacked on the Chalcidic peninsula. Methone here is usually distinguished from the Methone on the Thermaic Gulf by the epithet of "Thracian." It is still further characterized by THUCYDIDES as τὴν ὕμωρον Μακεδονία, vi. 7. Many writers contend that it was in the capture of this city, and not of Methone on the Thermaic Gulf, that Philip lost an eye. GROTE, chap. lxxxvii. Apollonia was "an Ionian colony, in Mygdonia." ARNOLD. These cities were now allies of Olynthus, which was the head of the Chalcidic confederacy.

Ἐπὶ Θράκης.] This expression is used to denote the peninsula lying southward of Macedonia proper, and inhabited chiefly by colonies from various Greek cities. In the earlier years of Demosthenes it was very populous and wealthy, and we see from his language to what a condition it had been reduced by "scarcely thirteen years" of Macedonian rule. "Ἐπὶ Θράκης. Thraceward; or living in the direction of Thrace. A general term applied to the Greek States which lined the Ægean from Thessaly to the Hellespont. The Chalcidic colonies in this quarter, amongst which were Olynthus, Torone, Sermyle, and Arne, were founded from Chalcis in Eubœa." ARNOLD *ad* THUC. i. 57.

Προσελθόντ'.] Sc. τινά. Many editions have before μηδ', μηδένα, but I have omitted it as unnecessary, on the authority of DINDORF. Any one, having gone there, could not easily say. AUGER translates: si accesseris, nec facile dicas. WOLF says μηδένα προσελθόντα, pro μηδένι προσελθόντι.

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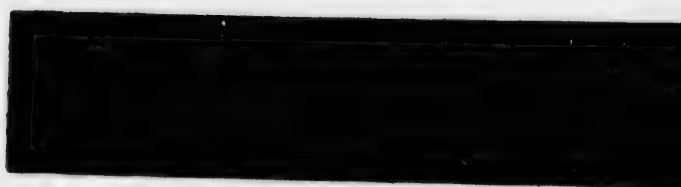
Καὶ τὸ Φωκίων ἔθνος τασοῦτον ἀννημένον.] Referring to the almost total destruction of the twenty-two Phocian towns, dismantled and broken up into villages, none of which was to contain more than fifty houses, nor be nearer its neighbour than a space of one furlong. The decree is given in LELAND'S *Philip*, vol. ii. book iii. s. iii.

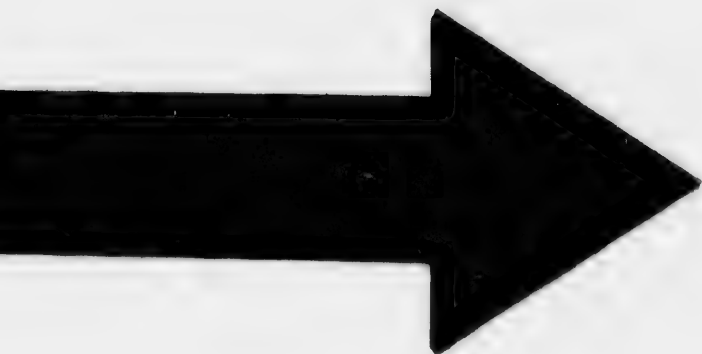
Οὐχὶ τὰς παρῆρται.] By 'πόλεις' I understand *Pagasaë* and *Magnesia*, by 'πολιτείας,' *liberty*. WOLF. Yet what this liberty was he nowhere states. The whole country, as has been observed in a previous note, was divided into four divisions, and was very powerful when united under the government of a single ruler called Tagus, a name peculiar to Thessaly (POLLEX. i. 128). Each of these four divisions comprised several cities, the chief magistrates of which were also called Tagi. BÆCKH. *Corp. Inscriptionum*. No. 1770. They were generally at war with each other. Larissa, Phæræ and Pharsalus seem to have had a certain power over the others. The general government had the imposts on the tributaries, and the harbour dues to support it, together with the duties on all markets. These were seized by Philip and applied to his own use. DEM. OL. i. p. 15. We also learn from DEM. p. 15, as above, that Philip seized these revenues of the country and applied them to his own use. The liberty they enjoyed, therefore, seems hard to determine, still it was a rule of Thessalian over Thessalian, and thus to be preferred to that of a foreigner.

Καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν.] *And he has established tetrarchies.* See note, p. 71.

"ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις δουλεύωσιν.] *That he may not only enslave them by cities, but also by nations.* By making all responsible to him instead of the Tagi of the various cities. Besides, each district was directly accountable to him. Compare WOLF ad loc.: "*Totam Thessaliam in quatuor præfecturas divisit, ut non modo oppidatim sed etiam regionatim (ut ita dicam) serviant.*"

Αἱ δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις.] Oreus and Eretria, and perhaps others. Πλησίον is here construed with a genitive, which is the more usual construction. In IL. xxiii. 732, πλησίοι ἀλλήλοισι is found.





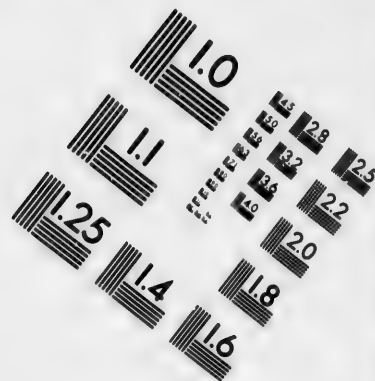
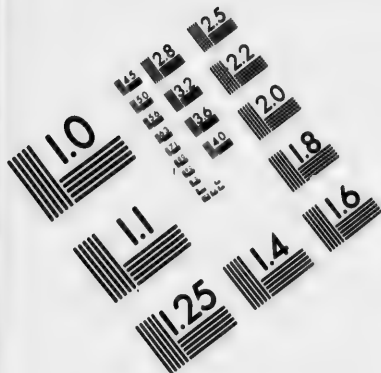
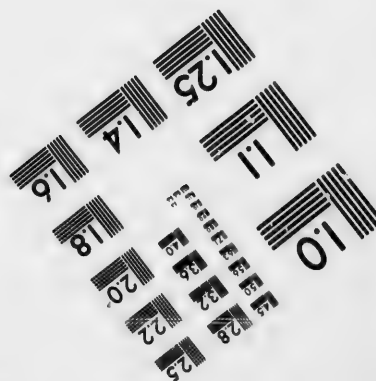
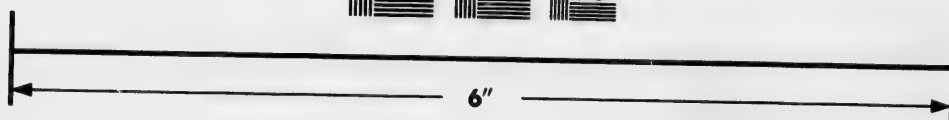
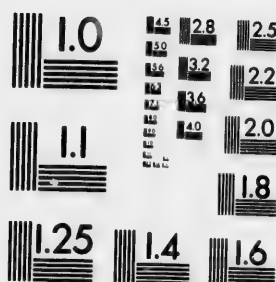


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In SOPH. ŒD. R. 1134, the derivative *πλησιάζειν* is joined with an acc. *Καὶ ταῦτα*, *And that too*. JELF. 880, i.

Καὶ οὐ γράφει οὐ ποιεῖ.] *And he does not write these things and not exhibit them in his actions.* Cf. *De Cor.* 288. *οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δὲ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους.* CIO. *pro MILONE.* c. 23. *Neque vero se populo solum, sed etiam senatui commisit; neque senatui modo, sed etiam publicis præsidiis et armis: neque his tantum, verum etiam ejus potestati cui senatus totam rempublicam commiserat.* See also BARKER'S n. to *De Cor.* s. 144 of his edition for further examples.

Ἑλλησποντον.] This has no reference to the strait, but to the district of that name lying alongside of it. The cities along this coast were also called αἱ Ἑλλησπόντιαι πόλεις. XEN. AN. i. 1.

Ἀμβρακίαν.] Philip's expedition against Ambracia is mentioned also in *De HALON.* p. 84, and again in *PHIL.* iv. p. 133. From the language employed it seems doubtful whether the city was captured or not.

Ἥλιον ἔχει.] *He holds Elis, i. e. his faction rules supreme in that city.* After the battle of Mantinea, B. C. 362, the oligarchical party at Elis succeeded in expelling their opponents. During the reign of Philip the oligarchs identified themselves with Philip, and the opposite party invited to their aid a body of the mercenaries of Phocis who had retired to Crete. These were defeated, and the prisoners afterwards massacred under the decree of the Amphictyons passed against all who had taken part in the plunder of Delphi. DIONOR. xvi. 63. Hence arises the expression of Demosthenes in *PHIL.* iv. 133, *τὰς ἐν Ἡλίδι σφαγὰς*, which is repeated *ipissima verba* in FALS. LEG. p. 424. But while Philip was thus subserving his interests in Elis to satisfy the governing party, he at the same time was advancing his power at her expense. He conquered from her Pandosia, Bucheta, and Elateia colonies belonging to her, in the Cassiopeian district, in the north of Epirus, and gave them to his brother-in-law, Alexander. *De HALON.* p. 84.

Μεγάροις] See n. p. 115. *οὐδ' ἡ Ἑλλὰς τὰνθρώπων.* Neither Greek nor barbarian land limits the ambition of the man.

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JUVENAL makes much the same remark about Alexander. SAT. x. 168. Unus Pellæo juveni non sufficit orbis. The omission of γῆ with these adjectives is very unusual, and few examples can be given. The only one now occurring is ECR. PHŒN. 1524, τίς Ἑλλάς ἢ τίς βάρβαρος. But even here, as HERMANN ad loc. remarks, "only one of the scholiasts interprets with γῆ, all the others considering it as masculine." Mr. WHISTON cites ÆSCH. PERS. 184. Ἡ μὲν Ἑλλάδα κλήρε λαχοῦσα γαίαν, ἡ δὲ ἑρβαρον, and adds that the whole form is given in XEN. ANAB. v. 5, 16, εἰς βάρβαρον γῆν.

Οὕτω δὲ κακῶς. . . . κατὰ πόλεις.] So wretchedly are we disposed to each other, and ruined city by city. Διορύσσειν properly signifies to dig through a wall, and undermine it, hence to ruin. Many editors interpret this word to mean separated from each other by walls and trenches. But the simpler meaning as above is to be preferred. Cf. SCHÆFER, perforati sumus, h. e. corrupti, pessumdati.

Οὐδὲ συσθῆναι.] Nor support one another. Κοινωνίαν βοηθείας καὶ φιλίας. A common bond of assistance and friendship.

Περιοῶμεν.] We disregard. Non impedimus incrementa potentia Philippi. WOLF. Τὸν χρόνον . . . ἕκαστος ἐγνωκῶς.] Each one having resolved to make the best use of the time during which his neighbour is destroyed. Philip's policy for peace was always so arranged that he never encountered too many enemies at once. He amused one party by letters and promises, and meanwhile deprived it of allies and friends. Take for examples Olynthus during the capture of its allies; and Athens, after the signing of the Peace, in regard to Phocis. Napoleon's policy was much the same; but his was a war policy, in which he made his actions to correspond to Virgil's castigat undilque dolos.

Ὅπως σωθήσεται. . . . πράττων.] After verbs of curing for, considering, &c., ὅπως with the future indicative is used instead of the subjunctive. REISKI remarks on the present passage, immo vero σκοπεῖν et πράττειν, qui infinitivi apti sunt ex ἐγνωκῶς, hoc penes unumquemque sedente, ut neque consulat neque agat, ut Græcia salva sit. It is better, however, to make them adjuncts of ἕκαστος.

[Page 27.]

"Ὡσπερ.] JELF. 868, 3, 4. 'Ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε..... οὐδὲς ἀγνοεῖ δὴ σου. Since indeed assuredly, none can be ignorant that, like a periodic attack or approach of fever, or some other disease, he is coming upon even him now appearing to be far removed from him. The reference is to a regular return of an intermittent fever. WESTERMANN and SMEAD make the reference to be to an epidemic, but it would hardly convey the orator's meaning so well to limit it to such diseases. He represents the actions of Philip as so insidious, that a man may be seemingly quite well to-day, and to-morrow be prostrated by an attack. On καταβολή, *accessio*, cf. PLATO GORG. § 157, 'Ἡ καταβολὴ αὐτῇ τῆς ἀσθενείας. WOLF says: Περίοδος ἐστὶ χρόνος ἐπιτάξεως καὶ ἀνέσεως ἐν νοσήματι γιγνόμενος. From these definitions it can be fairly concluded that a fever returning at certain intervals is meant, rather than an epidemic, which is not necessarily periodic. Δὴ σου. Truly. JELF. 724, 2.

[Page 28.]

Καὶ μὴν.] And further. JELF. 728, c. 'Ἄλλ' οὖν... ἡδικοῦντο.] Yet at least in this they were wronged by genuine sons of Greece. 'Ἕλληνες ἰθαγενεῖς. SCHAEFER.

Καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κ.τ.λ.] And one might look upon this in the same manner as if a legitimate son, born to a gentleman, should manage it discreditably and incorrectly: and for this he would be worthy of blame and reproach; but you could not say this of him, that he acted thus being an alien and not the heir of the property. "Ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ, understand ὑπολάβοι after ἂν. "Ἀξίον εἶναι, ἐνεῖναι. These infinitives depend upon ὥσπερ ἂν ὑπολάβοι. AUGER reads οὐκ ἐνῆν ἂν λέγειν. But REISKE well remarks there is no authority for so doing. He has himself, however, altered the reading ἄξιος τοῦ ἄξιου, no authority in manuscripts being given. However, his emendation has the advantage of being universally accepted. Προτήκων. Subandi ὧν εἰς τὰ κτήματα τοιούτως ἡδίκηται. REISKE. Κληρὸς is the property in inheritance; κληρονόμος, the heir.

'Υποβολιμαῖος.] A supposititious child. The word is used specially of children. Cf. HER. i. 137. Τὰ ὑποβολιμαῖα (sc. τέκνα) Νόθος, a son of a concubine, or, at Athens, any child born of a citizen and a foreign woman.

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οὐχ.....οὐχ.] Observe the force given by the repetition of the negative. *Non ita affecti sunt.* RÜDIGER. Cf. JELF, 747.

Οὐ μόνον.....τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.] *Being not only no Greek, nor in any way allied to Greece.* Yet still either the orator was here mistaken, or else how could Philip have competed in the Olympic Games in 356, and be declared victor? PLUT. ALEX. c. 3. The question must have come up then whether he was a Greek or not, for none but pure Greeks could contend in the Olympic Games, and the Hellenodicae were most particular in this respect. HEA. v. 22, denies that the Macedonians were Greeks, but consult, Ueber die Makedoner; appended to the first volume of the English translation of his History of the Dorians. It is certain they were of Pelasgic origin.

Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ.....εἰπεῖν.] *But not even a barbarian from a place whence it is honorable to mention.* Demosthenes speaks very hard of the ancient Macedonians. He calls their kings *barbarians*, and men destined to serve the Greeks, in OL. iii. But still he gives no worse description of them than Alexander the Great did. ARRIAN. EP. ALEX. vii. 9. Φίλιππος γὰρ ὑπολαβὼν ὑμᾶς πικρανῆτας καὶ ἀπόρους ἐν διφθέραις, τοὺς πολλοὺς νέμοντας ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη πρόβατα κατὰ ὀλίγα.....χλαμύδας μὲν ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν διφθερῶν φορεῖν ἔδωκε, κατῆγγαγε δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων εἰς τὸ πέδιον. Quintus Curtius also adds other characteristics in his version of the same speech. Illyriorum paulo ante et Persarum tributariis, Asia et tot gentium spolia fastidioso sunt. Modo sub Philippo seminudae, amacula ex purpura sordent; aurum et argentum oculi ferre non possunt; lignae enim vasa desiderant, et ex cratibus scuta et rubiginem gladiatorum. This speech was made by Alexander, in B.C. 323, a few months before his death.

Ἄλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνας.] *"A good-for-nothing Macedonian, a term frequently borrowed by the later sophists from Demosthenes. Ἀνδράποδον. A Macedonian slave is nowhere mentioned, but Demosthenes is the only authority for saying they were worthless. It is rather a subject of pride than reproach. The scholiast informs us: Scythia, Cappadox, Thrax, Phryx, Aegyptius servus qui esset, is honeste saltim serviebat. Nam ex his populis man-*

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cipia sua petebant Athenienses. E Macedonia autem nulla exportabantur. Hoc nequius interpretatus Demosthenes colligit, tam improbos esse Macedonas, ut nemo Athenis servum illinc velit, et Macedonici generis servos omnium servorum esse nequissimos et teterrimos." REISKE.

Καίτοι τί ἀπολείπει;] *And yet in what does he fail short of the height of insolence? Οὐ πρὸς κ.τ.λ.]* By his destruction of the cities, does he not preside at the Pythian games? This has reference to the destruction of the Phocian towns. Τίθησι τὰ Πύθια, Intellige, *præmia proponit in Pythiis*, i.e. *Pythiis præsidet*. AUGER The Delphians had the management of the Pythian games down to O.L. 48, B. C. 588. Subsequently they came under the control of the Amphictyons, and in 346 they made over their right to the Thessalians, Bœotians, and Philip. This was regarded by the Athenians with such disgust that in that year they sent no deputies to the Games. "It was in the 3rd year of O.L. 108, that these privileges were conferred upon Philip, and was the first step towards his assumption of the rank of captain-general in Greece. DIOGOR. 16, 20." JACOBS.

Τὸς δούλους.] Spoken with the strongest contempt. The officers of Philip are intended, quos Orator lasciviens δημοκρατικῶς dicit δούλους. SCHÆFER. Ἀγωνοθετήσοντας. The ἀγωνοθέται were either the representatives of the different states, as the Amphictyons at the Pythian Games, or were chosen from the people in whose country the games were celebrated. The Amphictyons were the proper ἀγωνοθέται at the Pythian. They were also called αἰσυμνήται, ἀγωνάρχαι, ἀθλοθέται, βραβεῖς, and βραβεύται. SCHÆFER remarks that here the proper word is ἀθλοθετήσοντας, according to the grammarians. Cf. DICT. ANT. s. v.

Πυλῶν, παρόδων.] He became master of Thermopylæ in 346 after the surrender of Phalæcus and the Phocians. The *Passes* into Greece are Thermopylæ and Elateia. He did not, however, occupy Elateia until a few weeks before the battle of Cheronææ.

Προμαντεῖαν.] *Principem locum in accipiendis oraculis*. WOLF. The order of consulting the oracle was usually determined by lot. ÆSCH. EUM. 62. The magistrates of Delphi, however, had the right of admitting any person to præaudience regardless of

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the lots. This favour was conferred upon the Lydians and
Cræsus, HER. i. 54; upon the Lacedæmonians, PLUT. PER 21;
and upon Philip. It was of great importance to obtain this
favour, since oracles were given only at stated times, and the
enthusiasm of the priestess did not long continue. Hence if
many came to consult, some might have to go away unanswered,
which could never be the case with the προμαντεύς. ²He refers to
προμαντεύαν. To which not even all the Greeks have a claim. This
right was never conferred upon the Athenians, and they must
thus have been greatly offended at seeing it bestowed upon the
Macedonians.

Πορθμόν.] HESYCHIUS: πορθμός, στενὸν θαλάσσης, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς
γῆς διαπέραμα. This town was the port and citadel of Eretria.
The circumstances are more fully detailed below. Cf. De FALS.
LEG. p. 368. "Τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλοῦντας. By these he means the
popular party, but they would be called by their partisans the
people." KENNEDY.

Τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὀρεόν.] The same events are related in De Cor. p.
248. "From this passage it might seem that Philip's attempts
upon Porthmus, or rather Eretria, were contemporaneous with
that on Oreus, the ancient Histiea. But from PHIL. iv. p. 133,
it seems that the attack upon Oreus was not made till a short
time after (μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον) that on Megara, which, so far as
we can make out, was in B. C. 343. The seizure of Oreus was
therefore probably effected in B. C. 342. But it appears from p.
125 that Philip made more than one attack upon Eretria, the
first of which clearly preceded that on Megara (PHIL. iv. p. 133),
though only by a short interval, and therefore may be supposed
to have been made in B. C. 344." WHISTON.

Ἄλλ' ὅμως . . . ἀνέχονται.] And yet, understanding these things,
the Greeks endure them. I have followed WOLF in translating.
SCHÆFER joins ὁρῶντες ἀνέχονται and translates *sustinent videre*,
and is followed by Mr. KENNEDY. But neither the present passage
nor yet in p. 212, De FÆD. cum ALEX. ἢ ἐκόντες ἀδικούμενοι ἀνέ-
χουσι, does such a construction necessarily follow. "Ὅμως is
prefixed to the participle, yet more properly belongs to the verb.

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Liv. 21, 55. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis, mansit aliquamdiu immota acies." FRANKE. JELF. 697. d.

Καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.] Construe: καὶ δοκοῦσι ἔμοιγε θεωρεῖν (τὸν Φίλιππον) τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ θεωροῦσι τὴν χαλὰσαν· ἕκαστοι εὐχόμενοι μὲν μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γενέσθαι. Ἐφ' οἷς = ἐπὶ τούτοις ᾧ. The antecedent is omitted, and the preposition governs the attracted case of the relative. Cf. XEN. AN. i 9, 25. Τούτου ἐκπιεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς.

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Ἄλλ' οὐδ' . . . ἀδικεῖται.] But not even in what each individual suffers. KENNEDY translates: but even the private wrongs of every people. Very well for a paraphrase, but hardly suitable for a translation. His manner of rendering takes the point out of what follows. Not only do public wrongs go unavenged, but even private injuries are passively endured, which, says the orator, is the very last thing. Τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦσχα τὸν ἔστιν. For this is the last degree of apathy. SMEAD. For nothing can go beyond this at last. WHISTON.

Ἀμβρακίαν.] Cf. n. p. 118. Ambracia (Arta) a town on the left bank of the Arachthus, belonging originally to Acarnania, but afterwards to Epirus. It was colonized by the Corinthians in B.C. 660.

Λευκάδα.] An island off the coast of Acarnania now called Santa Maura, one of the Ionian Islands. Its length is about twenty miles, and the breadth varies from five to eight. HOMER (Od. xxiv. 377) calls it Ἀκτὴν Ἠπειροῖο. It was originally a part of the main land, and inhabited by Leleges and Teleboans. The Corinthians, under Cypselus, 665 B.C., founded the city of Leucas, and cut through the narrow isthmus, thus making it an island. In the time of the Peloponnesian War, the channel was filled by deposits of sand, and ships were frequently carried across. THUC. iii. 81; iv. 8. The channel was subsequently opened by the Romans. LIVY xxiii. 17, says: Leucadia nunc insula, et vadoso freto, quod perfossum manu est, ab Acarnania divisa, tum peninsula erat.

Ναύπακτον.] Lepanto. A considerable city of the Locri Ozolæ on the north shore of the Sinus Corinthiacus. It became a pos-

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session of the Achæans about 400 B. C., but was taken from
them by the Thebans under Epaminondas. It was afterwards re-
conquered by the Achæans, as we learn from the present passage,
and being now made over to the Ætolians, continued under their
power until the conquest of Greece by the Romans, B.C. 146.

'Εχίνον.] A city founded by Theban colonists in the south of
Thessaly, on the north shore of the Maliac Gulf. WESTERMANN.
There was also a city of the same name in Acarnania, mentioned
by STEPHANUS BYZAN. HARPOCRATION also mentions the city, but
says nothing of its position. ULPIAN, the scholiast, also mentions
the Thessalian Echinus, and determines it as the one mentioned
here. 'Εχίνος πόλις, Θηβαίων μὲν ἀποικος, πλησίον δὲ Θετταλίας.
The city is still called Echino.

Καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους.] "The words: *Is he not now proceeding
to attack the Byzantines?* must be understood of his intentions,
which were at that time sufficiently evident, but were not carried
into effect till the following year." JACOBS. His intention in
attacking Byzantium was to get command of the channel, and
thus prevent the supply of corn at Athens. Cf. on the import-
ance of this city to Athens, *De Cor.* pp. 254, 255. Συμμάχους
ὄντας sc. αὐτῷ. *De Cor.* p. 254.

Οὐχ ἡμῶν—ἐὼ τᾶλλα.] Demosthenes begins to relate the cir-
cumstances in regard to Athens, and suddenly stops, as if aware
that all knew them quite well enough. He only mentions one
city, but *ab uno disce omnes*. Cf. *contra Timoc.* p. 733. *Ὅς τὰ
μὲν ἄλλα ἐὼ ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῷ γήρα βοηθοὺς λυμάλῃ. SCHÆFER.

Καρδίαν.] This city was at the extremity of the Chersonese,
and in all time seems to have been an enemy to Athens. *Contra*
ARIST. In the treaty with Philip, it was included among his
allies, and it seems at no time to have been under the dominion
of Athens. Diopithes, when Philip was advancing through Thrace,
endeavoured to capture it, but failed, since Philip was enabled to
relieve the city. From *De Pace* p. 63, καὶ Καρδιανούς ἐῷμεν ἔξω
Χερρόνησιτῶν τῶν ἄλλων τετάχθαι, we see that even the Athenians
allowed that it did not belong to the Chersonese. It was also
reserved by the Cersobleptes in the cession of the Chersonese.

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Μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακίζεσθαι.] *We dally and play the woman.* DINDORF and RÜDIGER give μαλκίμεν, but there is no necessity for so doing. HARPOCRATION cites this passage, and says μαλκίμεν was another reading. SCHÆFER remarks that μαλκίμεν in this place is the genuine reading, and that this word has been so completely eradicated by interpreters of the orator that no trace of it remains. HARPOCRATION interprets μαλκίμεν by τὸν ὄρθον φρίττειν, which DINDORF styles *parum accurata interpretatio*. The general idea conveyed by μαλκίαν is *numbness*, produced by cold, an interpretation by no means suitable to the present passage, and at any rate not to be preferred to the reading as given above.

Ἀδικοῦντι.] REISKE gives ἀδικοῦντος. Quamquam non video, qui locus his esse possit dativo, nisi statuamus, pone ἀπιστοῦντες, deesse πιστεύοντες, *diffidentes mutuo alii aliis. at Philippo fidentes, communi omnium hosti et vexatori*. But to my mind ἀδικοῦντι as well as ἀλλήλοις is governed by ἀπιστοῦντες, and REISKE's refining is thus useless.

Τί οἴεσθε. . . . τί ποιήσῃν.] Observe the repetition of the interrogative to give greater force to the question. Ἐπειδὴν. The order is ἐπειδὴν γένηται κύριος ἐκάστου ἡμῶν καθ' ἓνα. Cf. OL. ii. p. 25. Καθ' ἓνα αὐτῶν ἐκάστον ἐν μέρει.

Ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας αἰτίας.] *Without reason and just cause, sine ratione et gravi causâ.* Ἐχεῖν πρὸς. *To be of a disposition towards any person or thing.* SMEAD.

Ἦν τι τότε, ἦν.] *Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium Populi Romani.* CIC. pro LEG. MANIL. 12. Τῶν πολλῶν. *The masses, the people.* Περσῶν. Demosthenes delights to recall these glorious deeds of the ancient Greeks. In this respect he is the Æschylus of the orators. Ἐλευθέραν ἦγε. Ἀγεῖν here has the meaning it usually receives with ἡσυχίαν, εἰρήνην, *faciebat ut Græcia libera maneret.* SCHÆFER. *And preserved Greece in freedom.* Some editions give ἐλευθέρως here. But not to be received.

Καὶ οὕτε. . . . ἥττατο.] This verb is usually construed with the genitive, as here. Notanda est locutio. SCHÆFER. In XEN. AN. i. 29, we have ἥττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ. Λυμάλνεσθαι is not used in the active unless by later writers. Ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε. *Portum habuit, confudit, permiscuit, invertit omnia.* WOLF.

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Οὐδὲν ποικίλον οὐδὲ σοφόν.] *Nothing recondite nor subtle.* These words and ἀλλ' ὅτι, which follow, are wanting in some manuscripts, and are rejected by SMEAD as not Demosthenic in spirit. But that is hard to judge in such a small compass. Cf. PLATO. GORG. § 102. Οὐδὲν ποικίλον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί. Would he reject this for a similar reason? Τοὺς ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν, *All hated those receiving money from, &c.*

Καὶ χαλεπώτατον. . . . ἐξελεγχθῆναι.] *Et gravissimum crimen erat si quis accepisset munera convincebatur.* WOLF. *And it was a terrible thing to be convicted of taking bribes.*

Τιμωρὰ μεγίστην.] *With the heaviest punishment.* There were two actions for bribery (δεκασμός) at Athens; one called δέκασμου γραφή laid against the person who gave a bribe; the other δάρων γραφή, against the receiver. The actions lay against all cases of bribery, whether of citizens in the public assembly, of the Heliaea, or βουλή, or of the public advocates. The trial was before the Thesmothetae, the punishment on conviction was death, or payment of ten times the value of the bribe, to which the court might add any additional punishment (προστίμημα). Thus Demosthenes in the case of Harpalus was fined fifty talents and also in addition imprisoned. These laws were still in force, but were never enforced. Καὶ παλαιῆσις συγγνώμη, *And there was no begging off, nor pardon.* The law must have been vigorously carried out if such was the case.

Τὸν οὖν καιρὸν. . . . πραγμάτων.] *The proper moment, indeed, for every affair.* He means that in every action there is a favourable moment at which success is possible, and if that be omitted it will never come again. Compare SHAKESPEARE, *Jul. Caesar*, Act v. sc. iii.

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows, and in miseries.

τύχη. Cf. with the remarks on Fortune, here, PHIL. i. p. 43, and CÆSAR de BEL. GAL. vi. 35. Hic, quantum in bello fortuna

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possit, et quantos efferat casus, cognosci potuit. For a contrary opinion of Fortune see JUV. x. 366.

Nullum numen habes si sit prudentia; nos te,
Nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam, cœloque locamus.

Πάντα δὲ προσήκει πρᾶττοντων.] Πάντα is omitted in many editions. *Those wishing to do all that is proper.*

Παρά τῶν λεγόντων.] Alluding to Æschines, Eubulus, and others of the Philippizing orators. τῶν στρατηγούντων. This may possibly allude to the accusation of Iphicrates and Timotheus by Chares of having taken bribes from the Chians and Rhodians, and thus leading to the ill-success of the Athenian fleet in the Hellespont during the Social War. DEINARCH. *cont.* PHILOCL. s. 17. DIODOR. xvi. 21, 22. However, we have already seen in PHIL. i. that such proceedings were common, and that generals were frequently tried, twice or thrice, and condemned like footpads, p. 53.

Νῦν δὲ . . . ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα.] From ἐκπιπράσκω. *Now all these have been sold, as if from the market.* Ἀντεισῆγκται, from ἀντεισάγω. Both verbs are employed in transactions in the public market, and thus show how openly these proceedings were carried on. The orator gives a true, yet lamentable picture of Athenian political honesty.

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Ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν.] Gravius antecedit, sed νενόσηκεν sequitur, ut significet et principium mali et exitium a corruptelis profectum. WOLF. Ἀπόλωλε in reference to foreign affairs νενόσηκεν to intestine broils and commotions. Compare SHAKS. *Macbeth*, iv. 3.

"O nation miserable,

When shalt thou see thy wholesome days again?"—KENNEDY.

Ἄν ὁμολογῇ.] As Philocrates did. ARNOLD. And yet Philocrates was banished for this very confession. Τάλλα πάνθ' . . . ἡρῆται. *All other things which are the necessary attendants of bribery.*

Τῆς ἑλλης κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία]. *And the abundance of supplies in general.* For κατασκευῆς, many manuscripts give παρασκευῆς.

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The difference is this: κατασκευή, *apparatus*, παρασκευή, *supellex*, *instrumenta*, *vasa*. SCHÆFER. SMITH reads παρασκευῇ, and interprets *supellex*, the general equipment of an army. A meaning certainly new for *supellex*, and doubtful as regards παρασκευῇ.

Νῦν.] Refers to the present time, τότε to the time of the Persian wars.

Ἐκ τῶν πολούτων.] *By these barterers*. Referring to Demades, Eubulus, Philocrates, Æschines, Phrynon, and Aristodemus.

Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει.] The usual formula when proceeding to prove a general statement previously made. Cf. *De Cor.* p. 239. Ἀνωθεν, traced upward from the present. For εἰ with Ind. cf. JELF. 802, a. b. ANNOLD correctly remarks that τὰναντία is here used adverbially, and is equivalent to ἐναντίως.

Γράμματα.] = Γράμματα δημόσια, *Records*. Public documents were not unfrequently engraved on brass, and thus secured from destruction. This was specially the case with names of traitors. The word employed in such cases was γράφειν, *incidere*. The term was even employed in letters. Cf. supra p. 118. Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γράφει. *Eis akropolis*. On the omission of the article, consult JELF. 447, 2.

Ὅτι ἐπεὶ τῶν προσήκει.] *How zealously it is becoming you to look into such things*. Ζελεΐτης. An ancient city of Mysia, near Mount Ida on the river Aisepus, belonging to the territory of Cyzicus. IL. ii. 824, 825.

Ἀτιμος ἔστω.] *Let him be an outlaw*. *Capite imminutus*. *Atimula* was either total or partial. The example of Arthmius was a total deprivation of right. This resulted in case of murder, theft, false witness, partiality as an arbiter, and violence offered to a magistrate. On the penalties attached to such cases of *atimula*; consult *Dict. Ant.* s. v. The decree here given was proposed by Themistocles, which renders it probable that the event narrated occurred during the Persian War. PLUT. THEMIS. i. 6. For τοῦ Ἀθηναίων the common reading is τῶν Ἀθῆν. Τοῦ is approved by REISKE, DINDORF and SCHÆFER.

Αἴτια.] *Crimes*. The charge is written.

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Χρυσόν.] Gold uncoined, as opposed to χρυσόν, which signifies the metal coined. The same distinction holds good between ἀργυρος and ἀργύριον.

Λογίζεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ θεωρεῖτε.] On this construction, see n. p. 41.

Τίς ἦν.....ἀξιωμα.] What was the sentiment, or what the decision of the Athenians who then acted so? Cf. for this meaning of ἀξιωμα, SOPH. ŒD. COL. 1454. Πάτερ, τί δ' ἐστὶ τὰξιωμα, ἐφ' ᾧ καλεῖς; Father, what is your decision or resolve, on whom do you call? WOLF says of this word: Dignitatem hic appellat magnifica facta, tanta republica digna. On which SCHÆFER remarks, Mihi videtur ἀξιωμα h. l. esse idem quod φρόνημα.

Καὶ ἀτίμους.] And dishonored, i.e., the taint extended not only to him but also to his posterity. This only happened in certain extreme cases. Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν.....ἀτιμίαν. And this is not what one would usually call outlawry. Ea vero est non simplex ignominia. WOLF, who also gives the order, thus illustrating the construction: τοῦτο δὲ (τὸ ἀτίμον εἶναι) οὐκ ἐστὶν (ἀτίμια) ἢ ἀτιμίαν τις οὕτως ἂν φήσειεν. Οὕτως. Re non pensitata, e consuetudine vulgi parum curantis vim vocabuli. WOLF.

[Page 31.]

Τί γὰρ τῷ.....ἐμελλεν;] For what was it to this Zelitan if he were not to participate in the common rights of the Athenians? The orator proceeds to explain what was the peculiar case of ἀτιμία and its consequences to Arthmius. He also alludes in terms of commendation to the same subject in FALS. LEG. p. 428. But there is a view of the matter not touched upon by him, which we learn from ÆSCH. Adv. Ctes. § 259. Æschines there calls him πρόξενον ὅντα τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Now the πρόξενος enjoyed certain rights of Athenian citizenship, and of these Arthmius would also be deprived. SMEAD (following TOURREIL) gives this account of the matter: Egypt had shaken off the yoke of Artaxerxes, who immediately marched with a formidable army to chastise the rebels into obedience. This he was unable to do for the reason that Athens had sent troops to their assistance. The anger of Artaxerxes was thereupon turned against the Athenians. He sent agents into Peloponnesus, with large sums of

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[Page 31.]

money to induce the States to commence war against them. It is probable that Arthmius was one of these emissaries, though his name is not mentioned by Diodorus, and that he was thus stigmatized on account of his previous intimate relations with Athens. 'Αλλ' οὐ τοῦτο λέγει. But it does not mean this.

'Υπὲρ ὧν ἀποκτείναι.] Super iis pro quibus (interfectis) non permiserit capitis causam instituere (in interfectores). FRANKE. Iis de homicidiis quorum causâ aut quorum in gratiam legislator actiones cædis nullas dat. REISKE. For those cases in which the lawgiver does not allow a trial, but to kill is sanction. I prefer to make ὧν neuter, understanding ἐγκλημάτων. SCHAEFER and WOLF also favour this view. For these cases see DIOT. ANT. s. v. φόνος.

Τοῦτο δὴ εἶναι.] But it means this, that he who killed any one of these was free from pollution. On τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς, Cf. JELF. 613 and 496.

Οὐ γὰρ ἂν μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσι.] For it would not have concerned them unless they regarded it in this light, whether people in Peloponnesus were purchased or corrupted. On this cumulation of words of similar signification see n. p. 41. Μὴ here is equivalent to εἰ μὴ. WOLF translates: Alioquin non curassent, si quis in Peloponneso aliquos emeret et corrumpere, nisi ita sensissent. 'Εκόλαζον δ' ἐτιμωροῦντο.] Hoc, ad poenam, legibus debitam; illud, ad castigationem et emendationem peccantium refertur. HEINDORF.

Ὅστε καὶ στηλῖτας ποιεῖν.] So as even to make them pillar-men, i. e. to inscribe their names on pillars.

Οὐ γὰρ οὕτως πρὸς ἅλλα.] For you have not the same disposition in regard to such things, nor in regard to others. Understand after ἔχεθ', τὴν διάνοιαν. Περί πάντων. De omnibus rebus. Regarding everything.

Παραπ. ἥτως Ἕλληνες.] Pari pacto sese habent reliqui quoque Græci atque vos habetis. REISKE. For the other Greeks are just the same, and not a whit better than you. Σπουδῆς πολλῆς. Much diligence. JELF. 529, 1.

Τίλος εἶπω.] Scilicet βουλῆς. WOLF. This is far inferior to

[Page 31.]

REISKE, who translates: *Sed ecquod est illud salutare consilium, dicamne? Shall I say what good counsel?*

Ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου ἀναγινώσκει.] The following readings of these words are given. SCHAEFER gives ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου γίνωσκε, and incorporates it in the text. In other editions the reading above is given, and enclosed in brackets. The Bavarian manuscript gives ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου ἀνάγνωσις, and in the next line, γραμματείου ἀνάγνωσις, while another edition gives ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου ἀναγινώσχετε. Amid such variation of manuscripts it would be better with VÆMEL and ARNOLD to expunge it. However, admitting it to be part of the oration, it is evident that the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου stood beside the orators, and read such public documents and laws as were required by the orator in support of his argument. This γραμματεὺς was appointed by the public assembly by χειροτονία, and always read from the γραμματεῖον, or record.

Ἔστι τοίνυν τις.....τὴν πόλιν.] *There is a foolish report circulated by those desirous of consoling the city.* Εὐθήης, here is something like our *good-natured*, but used ironically. Cf. RUHNK. ad TIM. 131. "Quicunque Atticorum urbaniores dici haberique volebant, quem stolidum et fatuum dicere verebantur, leni blandoque nomine ἡδὸν, γλυκύν, εὐθήη, χρηστὸν appellabant." In accordance with this view, cf. OL. iii. 37. Ἐπὶ τῶν χρηστῶν τῶν νῦν; and De COR. p. 228. Τοῦτο παντελῶς εὐθεῖς φήθης. For γλυκὺς in a similar sense cf. PLATO. HIPPOCR. 228, B.

Ποτ'.] At the close of the Peloponnesian War, when by means of the decadarchies and harmosts they might be said to govern the whole earth. Βασιλέα δὲ σύμμαχον εἶχον. After the Athenian defeat at Syracuse, Persia and Sparta united to crush the power of Athens. ISOC. OR. xii s. 110. The price of the friendship of Sparta was the delivery of the Asiatic colonies to the power of Persia.

Ἐφίστατο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς.] *And nothing opposed them: i. e., Everything lay so absolutely under their power that there was no use in opposing them.* Cf. WOLF's interpretation: *Quibus nihil obsistebat, contra quos nemo arma movere, nemo se defendere audebat.* Οἱ δυνάμιν ἀνυπόστατον ἔχειν ἐδόκουν.

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[Page 81.] Καὶ οὐκ ἀνηρπάσθη.] *And was not utterly destroyed.* 'Αναρπά-
ζειν, *Funditus perdere, pessum dare*, ut si arborem radicitus humo
evellas. Cf. *ÆSCH. contra CTES.* 133. Θῆβαι δὲ, Θῆβαι, πόλις
ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνῆρπασται.
Εἰληφότων ἐπίδοσιν. *Cujusmodi incrementa?* Non tam virtutis
et potentiae, quam vitiorum et ignaviae. 'Επίδοσις is equivalent
to αὔξεις. WOLF.

Τὰ τοῦ πολέμου.] *The art of war.* 'Επιδεδωκέναι, *increvisse.*
Some manuscripts have ὑποδεδωκέναι, *decrevisse.* Clearly wrong.

'Ακούω.] *I have heard.* JELF. 396. Τέτταρας μῆνας ἢ πέντε.
This plan of warfare was adopted by the Lacedæmonians during
the Peloponnesian War. They waited until the crops were
nearly ripe, and then invaded and plundered the whole country.
The same method of attack was adopted in all the Roman wars
until the siege of Veii by Camillus, when winter quarters were
first prepared for the soldiers.

Τὴν ὥραν αὐτήν.] *Ipsa belli gerendi opportuno tempore.* WOLF.
But this hardly seems a correct interpretation. It is better to
translate it with REISKE: *Tempestas anni quæ profert omnia, ad*
τὴν ὥραν, perfectionem, percoctu et maturata. It will thus mean
the season of the year during which fruits and crops arrive at ma-
turity. With these words FRANK compares c. DIONYS. p. 1292.
'Ενταῦθα δ' ἐπιδημήσαντες παραχρῆμάζειν ἔδει καὶ περιμένειν τὴν
ὥραν. With ἡ ὥρα, ὥρα τοῦ ἔτους is understood.

'Οπλίταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμασιν.] *With heavy armed*
soldiers and troops of their own nation. The Lacedæmonians
employed no mercenaries in the earlier times. The army was
composed of citizens alone, who could not remain long away
from home. Their armies were nearly all infantry, and thus an
incursion was less to be feared than if they were provided with
cavalry. Οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως κ.τ.λ. *And so old-fashioned were*
they, or rather national in their ways; i. e., So great was their
simplicity, or rather love of country, that is integrity. WOLF.
Πολιτικῶς used here in the sense of οἰκέως. *Dutifully.* Cf. *De*
Gov. p. 308. 'Α πολιτικά ταῖς πόλεσι πρόσεστιν ἀπάσαις. Also p.
329. Πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια.

[Page 32.]

Χρημάτων.] Gen. of price. Ἀνείσθαι... οὐδέν, *As to purchase no advantage.* "Non cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes. Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique." ENN. Quoted by KENNEDY. Νόμιμόν τινα. *Legitimate.* Προφανή, the correct reading, instead of the old προσφανή, *clear or open.* Cf. THUC. ii. 93. Οὐτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμήσαι ἂν καθ' ἡσυχίαν.

Ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης.] *Ex acie instructa atque prælio.* These words are used to denote the changed manner of their affairs. All is now won by intrigue and ambush, nothing from fair fighting and in open battle.

Φάλαγγα.] This plan of arranging an army was entirely the invention of Philip, and to it may be ascribed his success. For the arrangement consult DICT. ANT. s. v. *Exercitus.* Ἀλλὰ τῷ... ἐξηρτήσθαι. *But by having attached to himself.* Non sine contemptu dictum: sed quod a se suspensum sibi adjunctam habet, quod pone se trahit. FRANKÉ. This explanation is correct, and yet seems unsuited to the gravity of the subject. REISKE has changed the word to ἐξήρτυσθαι, and SCHÆFER adopts this in his notes, but gives the other in the text. This last verb, meaning *to fit out, to get ready for one's self,* seems better suited to the passage. In ÆSCH. PROM. 711, τόξοισιν ἐξηρτυμένοι is the reading of DINDORF, altered from the old lection ἐξηρτημένοι. There is a frequent confusion of these words, on which see MATTHIÆ ad EUR. HIPPOCR. 1176.

Ξένους.] Philip incorporated in his army the whole available force of Thessaly, horse and foot; and had besides great troops of mercenaries. These immense levies rendered abortive the attempts of other states to oppose him with their own citizen soldiery. On the construction of the acc. see JELF. 584, Obs. 2.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις.] *In addition to these.* The common translation as given by WHISTON, *with these forces,* seems hardly suited to the passage. He is already well prepared with forces, and being so it becomes an easy matter to subdue nations that are weak and almost helpless. *In addition to these* gives this force to the passage. Cf. OD. vii. 120. Μῆλον ἐπὶ μήλῳ. Many editions have κρατῶν after these words, which is clearly a gloss, and may have led to the interpretation, *with these.*

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 Ἐπεὶ τῆς χώρας.] *In defence of their country. Δὲ ἀπιστίαν,*
Ex mutua partium diffidentia, quod una metuat prodicionem al-
terius, ut sola dominetur.

Μηχανήματα.....πολιορκεῖ.] Cf. supra n. p. 115. The pecu-
 liar kind of engines intended was Macedonian gold, and a party
 of traitors in the city. By means of these he captured nearly all
 Greece. The statement below that he *made no difference between*
summer and winter must have made the Athenians aware that
 they were contending against an enemy of no common kind. It
 was certainly something new to find a man who never rested
 from war, who marched in winter as well as summer, and who
 endured hardships for the mere sake of becoming a first class
 potentate. Ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, sc. αὐτῷ.

Οὐ δέῃ προσέσθαι.....τὴν χώραν.] *Must not allow the war to*
approach your own country. The Greeks say: οὐ δέῃ προσέσθαι or
 δέῃ μὴ προσέσθαι. Τὴν εὐθείαν. *The simplicity.* Alluding to the
 open manner they had of carrying on war. Quia sine proditi-
 onibus et statis anni temporibus ea bella gerebantur, hoc nomine
 titur. WOLF.

Ἐκτραχλίσθηναι.] This verb is used of a rearing horse, to
 throw over his head; hence, in the passive, to break one's neck; and
 here, to rush headlong to destruction. WOLF translates colla fran-
 gatis. Ὡς ἐκ πλείστου. *So long before as possible.* ARNOLD.
 But it seems to be equally as good to translate, so far as pos-
 sible.

Οὐχὶ συμπλακέντας διαγωνίσεσθαι.] Means the same as if he
 had said more fully: οὐχὶ δέῃ συμπλακέντας ὑμᾶς Φιλίππῳ διαγωνί-
 σεσθαι αὐτῷ. REISKE. To take very good care to keep him at
 home, and prevent him from coming abroad; but by no means
 to engage with him in battle, which might endanger your safety.
 This was the advice of Pericles in the Peloponnesian War. How
 different the sentiments here expressed from those in PHIL. i. p. 41.
 There the orator is all confidence, and speaks of the power of
 Philip as not to be feared, and regards it as much less than that
 of the Lacedæmonians after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian
 War. Now all is changed. Ten years have made a mournful
 alteration in both, and no one confirms it more than the orator

[Page 32.]

himself. Then he was all battle and glory, now the same speaker warns them to avoid provoking the Macedonian too much, and advises predatory wars to engage the attention of the king. Truly *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*.

Πολλὰ φύσει. . . . ὑπάρχει.] *Many advantages naturally belong to us.* Φύσει, here is the dative absolute, of which many instances may be given. Cf. LONG. *de SUB.* 3, 15. φύσει γὰρ ἅπαντες οἱ μεγέθους ἐφιέμενοι. 33, 3, ὅτι φύσει πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπεια . . . ἐπιγινώσκεται. Ἐθέλωμεν. *We are willing.* Ἐθέλειν. *What is in our power.* Βούλεσθαι. *What we wish but cannot perform.* Cf. EUR. *ALCEST.* 281. Λέξαι θέλω σοι πρὶν θανεῖν ἂ βούλομαι." WHISTON.

*Hs. κακῶς ποιεῖν.] *Much of which it is possible to plunder and lay waste and destroy.* Πολλὴν, sc. χώραν. The participle is put in the gender of the word it governs. Cf. JELF. 442, c. and VIRG. *ÆN.* i. 326. Nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum. Cf. WOLF *ad LEPT.* p. 459. Μυρία, *An indefinite number; μύρια, Ten thousand.*

*Αγῶνα.] *Proelium, conflictus; πόλεμος, Bellum, etiam cum non conseruntur manus.* WOLF. Cf. LONG. *De SUB.* 13, 4. Ἀγῶν ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι τῶν προγενεστέρων οὐκ ἄδοξον. Eis δὲ ἀγῶνα. *But for a battle he is better equipped than we.*

Οὐ μόνον. . . . οὐδέ.] *Adverte Græcorum consuetudinem in talibus enunciationibus adverbium, μόνον, soli priori membro sic tribuentium, ut etiam ad posterius pertineat.* SCHÆFER. τῇ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ, *But in your mind and soul.* Μισῆσαι, *To bring your hatred upon.* FRANKÉ says: μισῆσαι, *odium concipere, miscein, odisse.* The advice of Demosthenes here is one too true in the history of all nations. If disunion and rebellion come upon a people, let traitors be cut off, and let the war begin at home. A friend of the enemy in the camp may do more injury than all the opposing army. Cf. the similar sentiments expressed in *De REP.* CHERS. p. 104, where almost the same terms are employed to explain the duty of the Athenians.

*Εκείνοις.] Many editions have ἐκείνῳ. This is defended by explaining that although the orator speaks of many, he is thinking of Philip alone. Perhaps ἐκείνῳ has crept in from *De REP.*

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CHERS. p. 104. [Page 32.]
Εἰς τοῦτο...τί λέγω. Ye have come to such a pitch of folly, or
insanity, or I don't know what to call it. See n. p. 111.

Μή τι δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματα ἐλαύνῃ.] Lest some evil genius may
drive the republic to destruction. Demosthenes is here a true pro-
phet. He saw that the folly of Greece would be fatal, and that
slavery impended over his country, and still he thought he must
oppose it so long as any hope of safety remained. Nor is it
doubtful that a man, so ardent a lover of his country as he, would
experience the greatest grief from such a state of affairs. Others
more vacillating were on that very account the more happy,

'Εν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἡδιστος βίος,
Τὸ μὴ φρονεῖν γὰρ κακὸν ἀνώδυνον κακόν.

But in much wisdom there is much affliction, and prudent men
seeing farther into the future are more grieved thereby; since
from the very nature of men they draw their conclusion thence.
Hence Ovid not less truly remarks:—

Augurium ratio est et conjectura futuri,
Hoc divinavi notitiamque tuli.

Isocrates also wrote as follows of Philip: 'Ἦγούμαι δὲ καὶ τὰ
πεπραγμένα πρότερον οὐκ ἂν ποτέ σοι γενέσθαι τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος
εἰ μὴ τις τῶν θεῶν αὐτὰ συγκατάρθρωσεν. WOLF. Cf. also on the
influence of δαιμόνιον τι, SOPH. ANT. 618. The notion that
Jupiter perverts the understanding in order to make men do
wrong is found in several parts of the Greek writings. EUR.
FRAG. "Ὅταν δὲ δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσύνῃ κακὰ, Τὸν νοῦν ἔβλαψε πρῶ-
τον. For further examples see BRASSE'S ANT. v. 818, and the
excellent note in ARNOLD'S edition, p. 148
[ἴστε... κελεύετε.] Construe: ὥστε κελεύετε ἀνθρώπους μισ-
θετοὺς λέγειν ἔνεκα λοιδορίας—ἡστίως ἂν τύχητε ἔνεα: αἰτίας, For
any cause whatever.

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ὧς οὐκ εἰσι τοιοῦτοι.] AUGER omits the οὐκ as unnecessary af-
ter the verb ἀρνεῖσθαι. But from XEN. REP. ATH. 2, 17, 'Ἀρνεῖσθαι
...ὅτι οὐ παρῇν, we see that the οὐ is required. SCHÆFER re-
marks: "In direct narration, as here, οὐ is used; in the indirect,
This is defended by the verb ἀρνεῖσθαι. But from XEN. REP. ATH. 2, 17, 'Ἀρνεῖσθαι
of many, he is thinking of many, he is thinking of many, he is thinking of many,
cept in from *De REP.*

[Page 88.]

μή, as XEN. HELLEN. vii. 3, 7. Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἡρνοῦντο μὴ αὐτόχειρες γενέσθαι." "Ἄντισι λοιδορηθῶσιν. See JELF, 589, 3.

Καὶ οὐχί πω. . . . ὃν δεινόν.] *And bad as this is it is not the worst.* Cf. De REB. CHERS. p. 97. Καὶ τὸ μὲν τούτων τινὰς εἶναι τοιοῦτους δεινὸν ὃν, οὐ δεινόν ἐστιν. Οὐχί πω is much stronger than the usual οὐπω. Ἀλλὰ, sc. τοῦτ' ἐστι δεινότατον.

"Ὅσας. . . . ἀκροῶσθαι.] The subject of παρασκευάζει is in the subsequent words. *Quanta ex eo mala existunt, quod tales audire vultis.* WOLF.

Τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν.] Cf. n. p. 111. Also, THUC. iii 28, Οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν. . . ὄντες. The scholiast interprets these words to mean: Οἱ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττοντες. THUC. uses a similar form in vi. 39. Οἱ τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντες. The reference is to Lathenes and Euthyrates of Philip's partisans, and the patriot Apollonides. Φιλίππου. The genitive depending upon ἦσαν. Cf. JELF, 518, 2, for further examples of the same class. FRANKL cites LIVY, xxiii. 14: Plebs novarum, ut solet, rerum atque Hannibalis toto esset. Add CÆSAR de BEL. GAL. i. 45: Galliam potius esse Ariovisti, quam Populi Romani. REISKE translates, *Ad clavum reipublicæ sedentium.*

Τίνες δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου.] This also is dependent upon ἦσαν. JELF. 518. BREMI translates *studere optimis rebus.* SMENAD entirely rejects this view of the government of τοῦ βελτίστου, and says: "εἶναι is very commonly used to denote possession, as of property, connected with which idea is the signification of *to be devoted to*, or *to belong to*, as a class. It is very rarely that it is used to denote the *devotion of persons to a thing*, without a preposition, and this requires to be supported by examples." Until such examples are forthcoming he prefers to govern by ὑπέρ, and cites two passages where τοῦ βελτίστου is governed by ὑπέρ, but in neither of which is there the slightest resemblance to the present. De REB. CHERS. "Ὅστις δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου πολλὰ ἐναντιοῦται. IBID. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου λέγω. This only proves that ὑπέρ governs the genitive, a point conceded by all. If any change is to be made, I prefer to supply with REISKE, μέρους κοινοί. This will then complete the sense, and supply a governing word to τοῦ βελτίστου, if such be required: *And certain acting for the better.*

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F, 589, 3.

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Δουλεύσουσι.] I have adopted this reading in preference to the subjunctive, δουλεύσωσι. "Ὅπως is used with the future indicative. Cf. *infra*, p. 126, Εὐφραῖος δέ τις... ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δούλοι ἔσονται. Cf. JELF. 812, 2. It may also be used with the subjunctive, but less frequently than with the indicative.

Ἐξώλεσαν.] Observe the force of the preposition, utterly destroyed. The force of ἐκ in composition is to express completion or success. Thus φεύγω is, I try to escape; ἐκφεύγω, I succeed in escaping. BRASSE *ad* SOPH. CEd. COL. 21.

Τοὺς ἱππίας προῦδσαν.] Philip having laid siege to Olynthus, all his attacks were repulsed for some time; until, the people becoming dissatisfied, listened to complaints against Apollonides, the commander of the forces. By intrigue he was deposed, and Lasthenes and Euthyrates appointed to the command. Soon after, a sally was decided upon, and Lasthenes led five hundred horse into an ambuscade, where they were completely surrounded and made prisoners. FALS. LEG. pp. 425, 426. The town soon after surrendered, the only terms they could obtain being that their lives should be spared. JUSTIN. viii. 3. The inhabitants were put up at auction and sold (DIODOR. xvi. 53), their lands being distributed among Philip's officers. Among the captives were some Athenian citizens, sent to aid in the defence. *Æsch.* FALS. LEG. p. 30. Ἀπώλετο. Another reading is ἐξαπώλετο.

Ἀπολλωνίδην.] There is an Apollonides, an Olynthian, mentioned in DEM. *contra* NEER 1376, but he is met with in very suspicious circumstances, along with Peitholaus, despot of Pheræ. It may be doubted if he is the same as the present one.

Ἐπειδὴ... καὶ τῶν ξένων.] When, after Plutarch and his mercenaries had been expelled. In 349 B. C. Plutarch made application to Athens for some troops to assist him in Eretria, and Demosthenes, not wishing to grant them, and suspecting Plutarch to be an enemy, endeavoured to persuade the Athenians to deny him the required aid. DE PACE, p. 58. However, the persuasion of Meidias prevailed, and Phocion was sent into Eubœa with a strong force of hoplites. DEM. *contra* MEID. p. 550. Callias of Chalcis now openly proclaimed himself an ally of Macedon, and having collected troops, and invited aid from the generals of

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Philip at Pegase, boldly marched against the Athenians. Phocion retreated to the town of Tamynæ, and there awaited the attack. The condition of the Athenians was critical in the extreme, *contra* MEID. p. 567. At length Plutarch marched out to give battle, but soon after retreated and fled, drawing some Athenians away with him. Phocion was now in very great danger, and if it had not been for the firmness of his hoplites, would have been entirely cut off. However, in the end, he conquered, and, pursuing his advantage, expelled Plutarch. Πορθμόν. See n. p. 119. Οἱ μὲν ἐφ' . . . τὰ πράγματα. Some were for bringing the government over to you, *ad vos rempublicam tractabant*.

Τὰ πολλὰ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα] *In plerisque vel potius omnino* Τελευτώντες. *At last*. Cf. n. p. 116. ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. *For their advantage*, or rather for the advantage of Athens, since if the Athenian politics had prevailed, all would have been well.

Καὶ γὰρ τοι.] *Et tunc quidem, And then indeed*. Klotz's translation, *etemin profecto*, would imply that what follows is a reason for what has gone before, but it is a continuation of the narration Σύμμαχος. "This word is added in bitter irony." SMEAD. Not at all. He was their ally by choice, and hence was not imposed on them. I should prefer to make the remark of φίλος. For his actions showed him to be anything but that.

Ἐξελέλακεν . . . σῶζεσθαι] *And completely expelled from the country those who twice wished to save it*. After the defeat of Plutarch, the Athenian party in Eubœa established a free constitution, and it was not until dissensions afterwards arose that the Macedonians were invited in, and the events narrated here actually took place. WHISTON conjectures that they happened in 341. The allusion here will then be to the opposition which the popular party made to the establishment of the tyrants, and probably to a subsequent revolution. WOLF's translation I do not understand. He says: "Scilicet τοὺς ἑτερπεῖς, *cum jam tandem sero sapere vellent*. I should rather translate: *bis patriam conservare decertantes*, or with WINIEWSKI, *quum jam bis pro libertate contenderent*. The remaining words from τότε to Παρμενίων are omitted in Codex Z. Antipater and Parmenio were Philip's ambassadors at Athens to conclude the Peace of 346. Parmenio

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was at that time Philip's deputy in Thessaly. In FALS. LEG. p. 362, they are described as the servants of Philip, and acting honourably for his interests. Of Eurylochus nothing further is known. The date usually assigned for these events is: the tyrants established in OI. 149-1, Lyciscus being Archon, B. C. 344-3, and the expeditions of Eurylochus and Parmenio in the following year.

Καὶ τί δεῖ πολλά λέγειν:] And why need I say more? Cf. VIRG. ÆN. ii. 101; also n. p. 117. Καὶ τί δεῖ τοῦς ἄλλους λέγειν: Ἐπράττε Φιλίππῳ. "Favebat Philippo, in Philippi gratiam ἐπολιτεύετο. More fully in FALS. LEG. p. 365. Θηβαῖοις τὰ πράγματα πρᾶττει. "Ποιῆσαι Φιλίππῳ," Cf. PHIL. iii. p. 127. SCHÆFER, where πρὸς χάριν is understood according to REISKE. On the events here narrated cf. n. p. 113.

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Εὐφραῖος δέ τις.] In addition to what was said of him in n. p. 113, we may here add, on the authority of HARPOCRATION, that he was a disciple of Plato, and it was when attending the lectures of the philosopher that he resided in Athens. But we shall also find him elsewhere. We learn from ATHENÆUS, xi. p. 506, that he resided in Macedonia during the whole reign of Perdiccas, the brother of Philip, and that it was upon his suggestion that Philip was appointed governor of a portion of Macedonia. It is strange to see the friend of Perdiccas many years afterwards dying of grief on account of the conduct of the partisans of the youth who was first raised to power by the kindness of the Oreitan philosopher.

Οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα. . . . προὖπηλακίζετο.] How he was insulted in other respects, and trampled upon. The first denotes the genus (injuria) the second the species (contumelia). FRANK. Cf. contra ANDROT. p. 611. BUTTMANN in his Lexilogus s. v. προσελεῖν says the proper meaning of προπηλακίζειν is to trample in the dirt.

Ἐνέδειξεν.] He laid an information against them. This was the proper mode of proceeding against traitors. See DIOT. ANT. s. v. Αἰσθόμενος ἃ πρᾶττονσι, Having understood what they are intending to do, i. e., having by some means gained information

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of their treason, probably from some of his old Macedonian friends. *Συσπράφιντες, Conspirati. REISKE.* Rather *conjurati*.

Χορηγὸν πρυτανεύοντες] *Having Philip for their paymaster, and being guided by him.* These words refer to well-known Athenian customs, and thus would be understood in all their force by his audience. Cf. *De RHOD. LIB.* p. 191, *Φανήσεται δ' ὁ μὲν πρυτανεύσας ταῦτα καὶ πείσας Μαύσωλος.* *Πρυτανεύοντες* is explained by *ἡγεῖσθαι* as *διοικούντες* καὶ *διαστροφόμενοι*. This last word offends *REISKE*, and he has judiciously altered it to *διατρεφόμενοι*.

Ἀντὶ τοῦ τῷ μὲν βοήθειν ἀποτυμπανίσαι] *Instead of assisting him, and beating others to death.* The verb *ἀποτυμπανίζειν* is used of beating to death by frequent blows. Cf. *De REV. CHRIS.* p. 104. The *ETYM. MAG.* explains the word by: *Οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀποκτείνειν ἀλλὰ τυμπάνῳ ἢ ἀπὸ τυμπάνου*, and goes on to state that anciently the stick was used to put criminals to death, but afterwards the sword. The Latin term was *justuarium*. Cf. *CIC. PHIL.* iii. 6, *Fustuarium meruerunt legiones, quae consules reliquerunt.* Something similar still survives in the Russian *Knout*.

Ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι.] *Ἄξιον εἶναι.* Sic Latine *idoneus pro dignus*. *SCHAEFER.* *SALL. CAT.* 51. For the syntax of such expressions see *JELF.* 666, 1. *Δίκαιος* is used with a similar meaning in *PHIL.* ii. p. 74.

Ἐπέχαιρεν.] *Insultabat Euphræo, delectabatur ejus calamitate.* *WOLF.* This verb means actually to rejoice in or over a person or thing, whether with kindly feelings or spitefully. It is usually the latter. Cf. *DEM. contra MEID.* p. 556, *ἀλλὰ σοὶ ἐπέχαιρεν.* *SCHAEFER* interprets it simply as *gaudere ob aliquid*.

Οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἔπραττον] *Those in authority acted as they wished.* *Οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας* is almost equivalent to *οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ*, or *οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν.* *Ἡβούλοντο.* The three verbs, *βούλομαι*, *δύναμαι*, and *μέλλω*, take in the Attic dialect the augment instead of *ἐ*. *FRANKE* translates this passage, *In tanta libertate quanta volebant. In all the freedom they could desire.*

equivalent to οἱ ἐπιβούλωντο. The three in the Attic dialect translates this passage: the freedom they could

Ὅτι οὖν ποιεῖν.] *Omnibus modis vexare.* SCHÆFER.

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Ἐπέσφαζεν ἑαυτὸν.] Cf. XEN. ANA. i. 8, 28, Ἐαυτὸν ἐπισφάζεσθαι. Also JELF. 363, 1. καθαρῶς, *With pure motives.* Cf. De COR. 803, *Ἀν καθαρὰ ᾤσιν αἱ ψῆφοι, where the notion of completeness and entirety is fully carried out.

Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, κ.τ.λ.] Cf. De REB. CHENS. p. 103, for an almost equivalent expression. "Ἠδίων...ἔχειν. *Being so favourably disposed towards those who plead Philip's cause.* "Ὅτι τοῖς μὲν...οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν. *Because it is impossible for those who speak and advise for the best, always to speak for your gratification.* On πρὸς χάριν cf. JELF. 621, obs. 2, and also SOPH. ANT. vv. 30, 908. Τὰ πράγματα, *Respublica*, or as BREMI, *Salus et libertas patriæ.*

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Οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς.....συνπράττουσιν.] *But they play into Philip's hands, by those very means, by which they gratify the most.* Ἐισφέρειν ἐκέλευον. The orator now proceeds to state very succinctly and fully the principal differences between the two classes of men, and it can easily be seen how much an idle, peace-loving people would prefer the counsels of slothfulness to those of strenuous activity: Ἐισφέρειν. See n. p. 42. Ἔως ἐγκατελήφθησαν, *Until they are caught in the snare. Donec circumventi sunt.* Cf. THUC. iii. 33. "Ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐγκαταληφθεῖσα ἡναγκάσθησαν στρατόπεδον ποιεῖσθαι.

Οἱ μὲν, ἐφ' οἷς.....ἀπέχθεται.] *Some spoke for present gratification, and gave no offence; others said what would eventually preserve the state, and animosity resulted to them.* The words καὶ ἐλύπουν οὐδὲν and προσῆσαν δ' ἀπέχθεται are absent from many manuscripts and editions. A few give καὶ ἐλύπουν οὐδὲν and omit the other, but they must stand or fall together; the one is the antithesis to the other, and if one is gone the other must follow. Seven manuscripts omit προσῆσαν δ' ἀπέχθεται, and give the others, while four have these words and also the others, but in the margin. Upon the whole I have followed DINDORF, who presents the latest researches in his last edition, and give the text as above. In this I am also agreeable to the lection of BREKKER and AUGER. Nor indeed do I see any sufficient reason for entirely ignoring them, as ARNOLD does. They add much

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to the thought, and round the sentence, which is always what an
orator must have in view. After οἱ δὲ sc. ταῦτ' ἔλεγον.

Πολλὰ δὲ προέτετο.] And many things lately the people
allowed to happen, not so much either for favour or through igno-
rance. Οὐχ οὕτως is variously interpreted. ARNOLD: Not from
these causes or motives, not in the manner I have described. WEST-
ERMANN: Οὐχ οὕτως sc. ὅπως σωθήσεσθαι. And SCHÆFER: Οὐχ
οὕτως—ἀλλ' pro ἀλλὰ expectes ὥς. Sed ita sæpius Græci. Non
multum differt οὐ μάλλον . . . ἀλλὰ. AUGER: Non temere. I pre-
fer this last. It seems to agree better with the words which
follow. But let us see if something better cannot be obtained.
One of the meanings of οὕτως is so much, usually followed by ὥς
which we see SCHÆFER suggests as the word you might expect.
Now the meaning will be: Not so much either for favour or through
ignorance . . . as. Cf. HER. iii. 12. Κεφαλαὶ εἰσι οὕτω δὴ τι ἰσχυ-
ραί, μογὶς ἂν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξεις. Their heads are so hard that
you could scarcely break them with a stone. 'Αλλ' ὑποκατακλινόμενοι.
As bending to the force of circumstances.

Τοῖς ὅλοις.] When they thought they were to be deprived of the
whole. Cf. n. p. 120, for the construction of ἡτῶσθαι.

Μηδὲν ὑμῖν ἐνόν.] There being no need of further action in your-
selves. ARNOLD has here μηδὲν ἐν ὑμῖν. The ἐν seems to have
crept in from the last syllable of the preceding word. I find
nothing of the kind elsewhere. Here follows in some editions
the following sentence, which is most certainly an execrable
attempt of some grammarian to make himself famous. Καὶ τοὺς
εἰς ταῦθ' ὑπάγοντας ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν οὐκ ὀρώδω ἀλλὰ δυσωποῦμαι, ἥ γὰρ
ἐξέπληθες ἦ δι' ἄγνοίαν εἰς χαλεπὸν πρᾶγμα ὑπάγουσι τὴν πόλιν.
SCHÆFER says the two words ὀρώδω and δυσωποῦμαι are quite
sufficient to condemn it. However, it is given in nearly all the
manuscripts, and HARPOCRATION expressly attributes these two
words to the Philippics of Demosthenes. As they do not occur
anywhere else in his orations, he must have referred to the pre-
sent passage. Still, they are inserted so awkwardly, and so
break up the course of the oration, that they must be set down
as a determined attempt at improving Demosthenes.

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Καίτοι μὴ γένοιτο. . . . Φιλίππῳ.] *And yet may it never come to this, for it is better to die ten thousand deaths than to do anything through obsequiousness for Philip.* Γὰρ here assigns the reason for what has gone before. ARISTIDES, *Technographia*, p. 200, cites this passage and reads δὲ for γὰρ, and ARNOLD has adopted it, and translates, *but if it does; in that case.* FRANKE quotes Cic. de OFF. 1, 31. *At Ajax, quo animo traditur milles oppetere mortem potius, quam illa perpeli maluisset.* Cf. also Cic. RAB. PERD. 5. *Moreretur milles prius quam.* The words καὶ προέσθαι . . . τινός, are wanting from many manuscripts, and indeed appear of later origin. This is the first intimation of any such action. We do not hear of the orators of any particular party being demanded for some years later. If true, they seem to contain a mournful foreboding of the fate of the orator and his friends as manifested during the reign of Alexander.

Καλὴν. . . . χάριν.] *A fine return truly.* Highly ironical. Ἐώθουν. *Pellebant, id est, repudiabant, aversabantur.* WOLF. This meaning of ὠθέω is peculiar, but cf. PLATO REP. 560, D. Ὠθεῖν τινα φυγάδα, *To banish one.* This verb with ἀγνομι, ἀλίσκομαι, ἀνδάνω, οὐρέω and ὠνέομαι, takes the syllabic argument.

Τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε.] "This incident is not otherwise known, but it is probably connected with the events consequent upon the battle of Tamynæ. From p. 125 of this oration it appears that Plutarch and his mercenaries were then ejected from Eretria, and the people being masters of the situation, some of the Eretrians wished to place themselves under the protection of Philip and others under that of the Athenians. Therefore we may presume that the Athenians despatched the envoys here mentioned, but without effect, for the result was that Philip was enabled to invest Cleitarchus with the sovereignty in which the latter treated the Eretrians as here described."

WHISTON.

Δουλεύουσι γὰρ μαστιγούμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι.] "They are slaves, lashed and racked." LORD BROUGHAM. He translates this whole passage from καλὴν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ το στρεβλούμενοι as follows: "Much indeed did the Oreitæ gain when they yielded to the friends of Philip, and thrust out Euphræus, and much the

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ούμενοι.] "They are
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people of Eretria when they drove off your ambassadors, and gave
themselves up to Cleitarchus! They are now slaves *lashed and*
racked." He then compares this with an extract from BURKE's
Regicide Peace, and shows the difference between extenuating a
subject and finishing it at a single stroke. "The King of Prussia
has hypothecated in trust to the Regicides his rich and fertile
territories on the Rhine; as a pledge of his zeal and affection to
the cause of liberty and equality. He has been robbed with un-
bounded liberty and with the most leveling equality. The
woods are wasted; the country is ravaged; property is confis-
cated; and the people are put to bear a double yoke in the
exactions of a tyrannical government, and in the contributions
of a hostile conscription." BROUGHAM's *Inaugural at Glasgow*, in
GOODRICH's BRITISH ELOQUENCE, p. 943. For another example of
this cumulative style see Cic. *pro LEG. MANIL.* xi.

Ἐφείσατο.] *Has he spared.* So utterly was this city destroyed
that it was almost impossible to determine its site. *Supra* p. 117.
On Ἀπολλωνίδην, vide *supra*, n. p. 125.

Μωρία καὶ κακία.] *It is folly and cowardice.* Τῶν λεγόντων
ἀκρωμένους. Verbs signifying operations of the senses are
usually joined with the genitive of the person, and the accusative
of the thing, but sometimes with the accusative of the person and
genitive of the thing. XEN. CYR. i. 3, 10. Οὐκ ἀκρωόμενοι δὲ
τοῦ ἔδοντος. ARIST. ACH. 306, τῶν δ' ἐμῶν σπονδῶν ἀκούσατε.

Τηλικαύτην . . . πείσεσθαι.] *And think that you inhabit a city*
so great in size as that no calamity whatever can affect it. "Ὡστε
τὴν πόλιν, τηλικαύτην τὸ μέγεθος οὖσαν, δύνασθαι μηδοτιοῦν δεινὸν
πάσχειν, ἀλλ' ἔξω πάντος κινδύνου εἶναι. WOLF. SEAGER, in the
Classical Journal, vol. lii. p. 239, proposed to change the received
reading of this passage ὥστε μὴδ' ἂν οὔτιον κ. τ. λ. to ὥστε μὴδὲν,
μὴδ' ἂν οὔτιον ᾖ, δεινὸν πείσεσθαι, his reason being that δεινὸν can-
not explain the meaning without some such word being supplied.
In this he is followed by DOBREE; and DINDORF in his last edi-
tion adopts the same opinion and the actual reading of SEAGER.
SCHAEFER denies that any change is necessary, and even if there
were a necessity, δεινόν τι would be preferable. I can hardly
think that no change is required. The sense is evidently incom-

[Page 35.]

plete, and although **SHAGER**'s suggestion rests on no authority, still it is the best yet proposed, and is accordingly adopted here. Καὶ μὴν. *Et vere. And truly.* "Ἔδει γὰρ... μὴ ποιῆσαι. *For you ought to have done such and such a thing, and not this.* Cf. **PIND.** OL. ii. 53, ὁ μὲν πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δὲ διδασκόμενος φέρεται τῶν τε καὶ τῶν καιρόν.

"Α τότε εἰ προέβδοντο.] *Which if they had then foreseen.* Προῦσ-κέψαντο, in which sense the use of the mid. is legitimate. **SCHÆFER.** Πολλ' ἂν... Supply the same verbs as before. 'Ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὕφελος αὐτοῖς; *But what advantage is any of these things to them?* Cf. **ARIST. PLUT.** 1152. Τί δὴτ' ἂν εἴησ ὕφελος ἡμῶν. Things were now at the worst, and it was sheer folly to lament what was lost by their own carelessness.

[Page 36.]

"Ἔως ἂν σώζηται.] On ἔως ἂν with the subjunctive see **JELF.** 841. Σώζεται is here equivalent to σῶν ᾗ. **SCHÆFER.** The Attics rarely used the singular of this adjective, but compare infra ἔως ἔσμεν σφοί. Σκαφός. *Vox propria orationis altius surgentis.* **SCHÆFER.** Cf. σκάφος πόλεως, *the ship of state*, in **ARIST. VESP.** 29.

Καὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα ἐξῆς προθύμους εἶναι.] This is the reading of the best manuscripts, and we have consequently retained it. The lection as given by **SCHÆFER**—ἄνδρα ἐφεξῆς πρόθυμον εἶναι, is on very poor authority, and in his notes he approves of the present reading, citing *contra* **TIM.** p. 722. ἐξῆς πάντα. Τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι. *To guard against this.* The middle is used to denote that not only all should be on their guard, but that each for himself should also take care to prevent any disaster. Cf. **JELF.** 363, 6.

"Υπέρσχη, sc. τοῦ σκάφους.] The verb governs the genitive under the general principle of verbs signifying *superiority over*, &c. μάταιος, the copula, as usual, omitted. **JELF.** 376. Ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον. *The most untarnished reputation.* The word is used particularly with reference to the position which Athens usually held among the other Grecian states. Cf. the Latin *dignitas* in **CIC. FAM.** ii. 17. *Lamia petit præturam; omnes intelligunt nec dignitatem nec gratiam ei deesse.* Here I shall quote the very apposite remark of **SMEAD**: "The orator instead of applying the simile of the ship to the administration of affairs, which he feels

rests on no authority,
ordingly adopted here.
p. μὴ ποιῆσαι. For
ing, and not this. Cf.
αἰδωμένος φέρει τῶν τε

then foreseen. Προῦσ-
is legitimate. SCHÆ-
bs as before. Ἀλλὰ τί
is any of these things
' ἂν εἴης ὕφελος ἡμῶν.
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subjunctive see JELF.
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which Athens usually
the Latin dignitas in
omnes intelligunt nec
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stead of applying the
affairs, which he feels

[Page 86.]
confident that his quick-minded hearers have already done, sud-
denly interrupts himself with the question τί ποιεῖμεν;"

Πάσαι τις κἀθηται.] Some one of my hearers may perhaps
eagerly have desired to ask. WOLF remarks here that ἂν is some-
times construed with the future Indicative. But that can not
apply here, as ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως must be regarded as parenthetical.
HERMANN also adopts this view, and says we must supply some
such words as ἐρωτῶν or τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

Kal γράψω χειροτονήσετε.] And I shall also move a resolu-
tion, and do you pass it, if you wish. Let us here examine the
various steps by which the laws were passed by the Athenians.
All motions for new laws were first debated upon in the Council
of Five Hundred, and, if approved by them, were then referred to
the people under the name of προβούλευμα. Sometimes, however,
this was not done, as in the case of the proposal of Ctesiphon to
crown Demosthenes. After the bill was read in the assembly,
(ἐκκλησία), probably by the γραμματεὺς, the proedri put the ques-
tion to the people, and called upon them to vote upon it. If they
were all in favour of it, it was immediately passed; if opposition
appeared, the subject was then discussed. The people always
gave their decision by χειροτονία, or show of hands. After discus-
sion the matter was again voted upon, and if confirmed became a
ψήφισμα, or decree of the people, and was equally binding upon
all parties. If, however, the προβούλευμα was rejected by the
popular assembly, it became null, and of no effect; if an equal
number of votes were given, it was called ἐπέτειον, or in force
for a year. But to prevent hasty legislation and avoid the diffi-
culty of proposing laws and passing them, which might have an
injurious effect, even a ψήφισμα was only in force for a year, and
unless it had been approved by the νομοθέται it then lapsed.
These nomothetæ were appointed from the heliastic body to act
as a court of revision for all laws, and so soon as a ψήφισμα was
passed it was referred to them. If they approved, it became a
νόμος; if they rejected it, at the end of a year it became null.
But that the ψήφισμα might have fair play before the council for
the revision of laws, the people had the power of appointing five
advocates (σύνδικοι) to attend before the board, and plead its

[Page 36.]

necessity. Hence we can see the various terms at full length. A *προβούλευμα* is a decree of the senate in force for a year. A *ψήφισμα* gave this greater scope, and applied it to all parties, but its duration was only a year still. A *νόμος* was a law binding until repealed. The mover of a law was said *γράφειν νόμον*, the people who passed it *θέσθαι*. The term *χειροτόνειν* was interchangeable with *θέσθαι*. For further information see *Dict. Ant.* s. *vv.*, *βουλή* and *νομοθέται*, and consult *SCHÆMANN De Comit. Ath.*

Καὶ γὰρ ἂν. . . . ἀγωνιστέον. For surely, even if all others consent to enslave themselves, we at least must make a struggle for liberty. *Παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ ποιήσαντες.* Observe the interchange of the perfect and aorist. Nor is this without due effect. The more important action of *making preparation* is kept before our mind, and then the aorist is employed to denote that its action is finished and complete. And not only is this the case, but still further the action of the perfect is represented as *continuing in its effects*. Cf. *HER.* viii. 8. 'Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν τετελεύτηκε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετο οἱ τιμωρῆσθαι. Ταῦτα = ὅτι παρεσκευάσμεθα. *ARNOLD.* *Τοὺς ταῦτα διδόντας* The future participle used to denote intention or purpose. *JELF.* 705, 6, d. With the sentiments here expressed cf. *De Reb. Chers.* p. 119.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ. . . . καταστρέψασθαι. For is it not foreign to his interests to prevent him subduing all things? Plutarch seems to say that Demosthenes was suspected of having taken bribes from the King of Persia, who feared the success of Philip, and wished to stir up the Athenians against him. But it might be that Demosthenes thought that the Persian power being added to the Athenian, the King of Macedon would have more to do than he could well attend to. Besides, as such an idea is nowhere else even hinted at, we may set it down as a specimen of the *Maliginity of Plutarch*. *Κοινωνοὺς ἔχῃτε. . . ἂν τι δέῃ.* Ye may have partners in your dangers and hopes, if need be. *Εἰ δὲ μή.* *JELF.* 860, 5.

Χρόνους γὰρ ἐμποιῇτε τοῖς πράγμασιν. Ye may cause delay in his operations. *Χρόνον ἐμποιεῖν* is to cause delay, to introduce de-

terms at full length.
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lied it to all parties, but
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said γράφειν νόμον, the
χειροτόνειν was inter-
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SCHÆMANN De Comit.

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if need be. Εἰ δὲ μή.

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delay, to introduce de-

lays. "Cf. contra ARISTOT. p. 651. FALS. LEG. p. 392. Οὐδ'
ἐποίησαν χρόνον οὐδένα." WHISTON. Also THUC. iii. 38. Καὶ
χρόνον διατριβὴν ἐμποισάντων.

Πρὸς ἄνδρα.] "Because a state is a permanent power; a single
man is liable to a variety of accidents, and his power terminates
with his life." KENNEDY. Demosthenes was justified in using
these remarks, since, if he had no other example to refer to, Cyrus
the elder would have sufficed, whose powerful empire one might
almost say ended with himself. But how many examples could
we now adduce? Alexander the Great, Attila, Zenghis Khan,
Tamerlane, Napoleon I. With all these the empires they founded
died with themselves. Besides, an autocrat has always more
power than a constitutional monarchy of any kind. He can
direct his armies as he pleases, can withdraw them when he likes,
and, untrammelled by his advisers, assume a bold or hesitating
front, as the emergency may require. Οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον. Not
even this is valueless, &c. χρόνον ἐμποιεῖν.

Αἱ πέρυσι βρεσβαίαι.] In 344 to Argolis and Messenia. Cf. the
account given of them in PHIL. ii. pp. 70, 71. Καὶ κατηγοροίαι, And
remonstrances. This word seems strangely out of place, and yet
it is by far superior to any emendation yet proposed. Various
ones have been attempted. WINIEWSKI says 'Ακαρνανίαν ought to
be read; DROYSEN would read κατ' 'Αμβρακίαν, and SAUPPE κατ'
'Ηπειρον. Philip had a little before this time been making at-
tempts against Epirus and Ambracia. JUSTIN. viii. 6. ARNOLD
is wrong in quoting DEM. c. OLYMP. p. 1173, to prove that Philip
sent troops to Acarnania. This may be seen by the words em-
ployed. Καὶ κατὰ τύχην τινὰ καὶ δαίμονα ὑμεῖς ἐπέισθητε ὑπὸ τῶν
ρήτορων εἰς 'Ακαρνανίαν στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπειν. "As refers to πρεσ-
βαίαι alone, and not to κατηγοροίαι.

Πολύευκτος.] An Athenian orator of the demus Spettios, a
political friend of Demosthenes, with whom he worked in resist-
ance to the Macedonian party. He, along with Lycurgus, was
demanded by Alexander in 335 to be delivered up to him.
ARRIAN. i. 10, 7. 'Εκείνοσι. Δεικτικῶς dictum; sedebat enim
homo in cœtu audientium Demosthenem. SCHÆFER.

'Ηγήσιππος] Another political friend of the orator, who, ac-

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cording to LIBANIUS, was the author of the speech *De HALON*. usually attributed to Demosthenes. Cf. LIBAN. *Introduction to De HALON*. Also FALS. LEG. p. 364. Κλειτόμαχος. Not otherwise known.

Λυκοῦργος.] An Attic orator, son of Lycophron, of the noble family of the Eteobutadae, was born about 396 B. C. He was the pupil of Plato and Isocrates, and a warm supporter of the policy of Demosthenes. Of the fifteen orations ascribed to him, only one, *contra LEOCRATEM*, survives.

Περίηλθομεν.] We went round upon as canvassers, Latin *ambire*. WOLF renders by *obivimus*.

Καὶ μήτ' ἐπ' ὀρμῆσαι.] And neither then did he attack Ambracia, nor invade the Peloponnesus. Οὐ μέντοι λέγω κ.τ.λ. The order is οὐ μέντοι λέγω αὐτοὺς (ὑμᾶς) ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν μηδὲν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν περικαλεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους. Περικαλεῖν = *Arcesere*, to summon, or call upon anybody as an ally. Cf. CÆSAR de BEL. GAL. I, 31. Τὰ οἰκεῖα προΐεμένους . . . κήδεσθαι. Abandoning your own interests, to say you cared for the interests of others. Οἰκεῖος, What is one's own as a possession or property, peculiar to one's self. In THUC. iii 13, it is opposed to ἄλλοτριος as here. Κήδεσθαι with gen. to be anxious about a thing, to care for any person. L. & S. Φάσκειν. See n. p. 112. Ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων τοὺς ἄλλους φοβεῖν. To terrify the others about the future. Φοβεῖν is seldom used with the accusative except of a cognate noun. Examples, however, are given. IL. xvi. 689.

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Τοῖς μὲν ἐν Χερρόνῃσιν.] This refers to the forces then in the Chersonese, under Diopithes, as an army of observation against Philip, who was pursuing his conquests in Thrace. Φημι δέιν. These words are used to express determination, and imply a positive disposition of mind on the part of the orator. Cf. PHIL. i. p. 42.

Συγκαλεῖν.] "Is to invite generally; if the invitation did not succeed, *συνάγειν*, which is stronger, as of one urging and forcing them; *διδάσκειν*, to explain the true condition of affairs, and show what will result therefrom; *Νουθετεῖν*, to induce them to action, having fully persuaded them both by your language and the

the speech *De HALON*.
IBAN. *Introduction to*
τόμαχος. Not other-

ophonon, of the noble
196 B. C. He was the
supporter of the policy
scribed to him, only
canvassers, Latin am-

r then did he attack
μέντοι λέγω κ.τ.λ.
θέλοντας ποιεῖν μηδὲν
Περικαλεῖν = *Arces-*
ally. Cf. CÆSAR *de*
κήδεσθαι. *Abandon-*
the interests of others.
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το ἀλλοτρίος as here.
thing, to care for any
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the invitation did not
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of affairs, and show
duce them to action,
e language and the

critical position of affairs." [Page 37.] BREMI. Cf. *De REB. CHERS.* p. 109.
Τοὺν διδάξαντας, νοουθετήσαντας, πράζοντας ὅσα ἂν δύνωνται τῇ πόλει.

Εἰ ὁλοσθε. . . . Μεγαρέας.] *For if you think the people of Chalcis or Megara will save Greece.* This does not seem to be spoken with contempt, as ARNOLD suggests, nor disparagingly, as SMEAD explains it. Chalcis was a principal city of Eubœa, and had been harassed by the Macedonian party as well as other places; and Megara was a city of the isthmus, where, we have seen, intrigues were commenced, but nipped in the bud by Phocion. The orator refers to these just as he might have said Plataea and Argos, to shew that the small states need not oppose, if the large ones held back. Ὑμεῖς δ' . . . τὰ πράγματα. *And that you will avoid the trouble of attending to the affairs of the whole country.* On the Nom. with the Inf. cf. JELF. 762.

Ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ.] *Well will it be for them.* They are so weak that they can scarce defend themselves. If any one hope that all Greece will be preserved by them, he is very far astray. SCHÆFER. Τοῦτο τὸ γέρας. *This honorable distinction of being the defenders of Grecian independence, the bulwark against Persian and barbarian.* The many and great dangers refer to the events of the Persian wars: the battles of Marathon and Salamis, the burning of the city of Athens, and the battles of Mycale and Plataea.

Ὅ οὖλοεται.] *What he wishes.* This seems to have been the great failing in the Athenian character. If everything did not go as each one desired it, he folded his hands, and would then do nothing. This can easily be seen from the frequent complaints of the orator, of each one doing what he wishes, and each one expecting that his neighbour will do everything and he nothing. Καθεδεῖται. Future of καθέζομαι.

Ποίησει.] Many editions give ποιήσῃ here, but the future is certainly the preferable reading. The meaning in either case is much the same, except that the indicative expresses a definite idea of possible realization. With the future in such constructions, ὅπως is equivalent to ὅτῃ τρόπῃ as can be seen from THUC. vi. 11. σκοπεῖν ὅτῃ τρόπῃ τὸ σφέτερον ἀπερὲς εὐ θήσονται. The future is

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also used in OL. ii. p. 21, where no editions even venture to propose a subjunctive, and again a few lines below in the present oration.

Πρώτον μὲν οὐ μή ποθ' εὔρη.] Here are any number of variations in the readings. One has οὐ μή ποθ' εὔρη (SCHAEFER); another, οὐ μή ποθ' εὐρήσει; while the common reading is μὲν οὐδὲ μή ποθ' εὔρη. With the future, εὐρήσει, οὐ μή would have the force of an imperative, which manifestly could not apply here. With the subjunctive, these particles give a future meaning, and at the same time an idea of certainty is implied. DAWES lays it down as a rule that οὐ μή can never be used unless with the 2nd aor. subjunctive, but this seems too close; for ELMSLEY, in a note to SOPH. CEd. COL. 173, distinguishes between οὐ μή with the future indicative and aor. subjunctive. Translate: *In the first place, he certainly will not find people to act for him. Ποιήσοντας.* Here many editions insert εἰ γὰρ ᾤσαν, εὔρηντ' ἂν πάλοι ἐνεκά γε τοῦ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσίν. But they seem to be merely an explanation of what the orator has been saying, and not part of the original text. They are absent from many of the best manuscripts, and in others are inserted after γέννηται. This of itself would show that they are not genuine, as they plainly could not stand there, and make any sense.

Δέδοικα.....γέννηται.] *And then I fear lest there be a necessity for us to do at once everything which we do not wish.* Ὅπως μή. This construction is used after verbs of fearing, as here, and also SOPH. CEd. REX. 1075. Ὅπως μή in such constructions is equivalent to *quomodo non*. CIC. FAM. ii. 5. *Quomodo homines non inepti loquuntur.* Ἡμῖν. Here it may not be out of place to remark that the words ἡμῖν and ὑμῖν in these orations are matter of much dispute. It is seldom that all the manuscripts and editions agree on any one form; and, indeed, it does not matter much. The orator in all cases might either speak of his audience in the second or first person, and the meaning is exactly the same. However, the form ἡμῖν, as the more respectful, is entitled, in any case of doubt, to the preference.

Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ.] *I now then.* JELF. 720, 721, 1, 730. Ταῦτα γράψω. Referring to the statement supra, Ἐγὼ, νῆ Δ', ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δέ.

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1, 730. Ταῦτα γράφω.

ρ, ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δέ.

[Page 27.] Ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἂν. After verbs of *thinking* and *declaring*, ἂν with the infinitive gives it the force of the future indicative, and generally implies the result of something which has been previously stated. The sense here is: *I think even yet our state may be restored to a proper condition if these things are done.* On this force of ἂν, cf. DEM. p. 497. Οὐκοῦν πρὸς πολλοῖς οἷς ἂν ὁ νόμος βλάψειν ὑμᾶς φαίνεται.

[Εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τι τούτων βέλτιον.] But if any one has a motion more conducive to safety than this. τι is omitted from many manuscripts, and βελτίω is read instead of βέλτιον. But WOLF and seven other manuscript editions give it as above. Δόξει. This is BEKKER's reading, and preferable to the common δόξειε. The indicative gives the expression a more positive turn. Συνενέγκοι. Συνενέγκαι is the reading of some editions, but Atticis συνενέγκοι videtur magis placuisse. SCHÆFER. But whatever shall appear good to you, may that, O all ye Gods! result to your advantage.

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"	117	"	189	"	" 27, " 10.
"	125	"	189	"	" 181, " 11.
"	70-1	"	193	"	" 18.
"	112	"	194	"	" 142, " 13.
"	42	"	194	"	" 3, " 20.

page	4,	line	25.
"	28,	"	17.
"	12,	"	4.
"	33-4.		
"	11,	"	31.
"	27,	"	4.
"	31,	"	28.
"	33,	"	29.
"	117,	"	38.
"	150,	"	10.
"	33,	"	19.
"	160,	"	16.
"	4,	"	6.
"	11,	"	29.
"	27,	"	17.
"	50,	"	2.
"	50,	"	7.
"	151,	"	13.
"	2,	"	12.
"	139,	"	18.
"	137,	"	13.
"	183,	"	17.
"	165,	"	13.
"	154,	"	6.
"	157,	"	2.
"	85,	"	15.
"	143,	"	33.
"	146,	"	6.
"	21,	"	4.
"	53,	"	24.
"	163,	"	34.
"	33,	"	19.
"	27,	"	10.
"	181,	"	11.
"	18.		
"	142,	"	13.
"	3,	"	20.

ERRATA.

Page	xvii,	line	28,	for	go	read	goes.
3,	"	30,	"	είπέ	"	είπέ.	
4,	"	18,	"	ῶ	"	ῶ.	
4,	"	23,	"	ἀλλ'	"	ἀλλ'.	
8,	"	24,	"	ῶ	"	ῶ.	
9,	"	2,	"	ἄν	"	ἄν.	
11,	"	4,	"	ἄν	"	ἄν.	
20,	"	3,	"	ἐγῶ	"	ἐγῶ.	
24,	"	31,	"	Σεῖς	read	Σεῖς.	
28,	"	20,	"	ἀγωνοθετήσαντες	read	ἀγωνοθετήσαντας.	
31,	"	3,		dele	full	point	after
50,	"	30,		for	οὔσα	read	οὔσα.
54,	"	22,	"	reading	read	reading.	
56,	"	20,	"	είπέ	read	είπέ.	
58,	"	9,	"	ἐπιστάντες	read	ἐπιστάντες.	
64,	"	23,	"	γενήσεται	"	γένηται.	
86,	"	19,	"	πύθεις	"	πύθεις.	
89,	"	1,	"	Page	4	read	Page
95,	"	32,	"	τῷ	read	τῷ.	
108,	"	8,	"	ἐδρίσκε	read	ἐδρίσκει.	
108,	"	30-31,		read	ἀγαπᾶν.		
113,	"	7,		for	emin	read	enim.
113,	"	12,	"	ἐκεῖ	read	ἐκεῖ.	
117,	"	19,	"	ὅτ'	read	ὅτ'.	
123,	"	18,	"	ἴδωρ	read	ἴδωρ.	
133,	"	26,	"	προς	read	πρός.	

